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The
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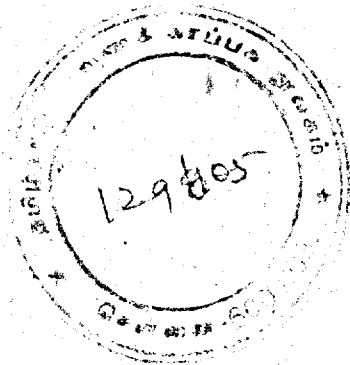
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Vol. 52.]

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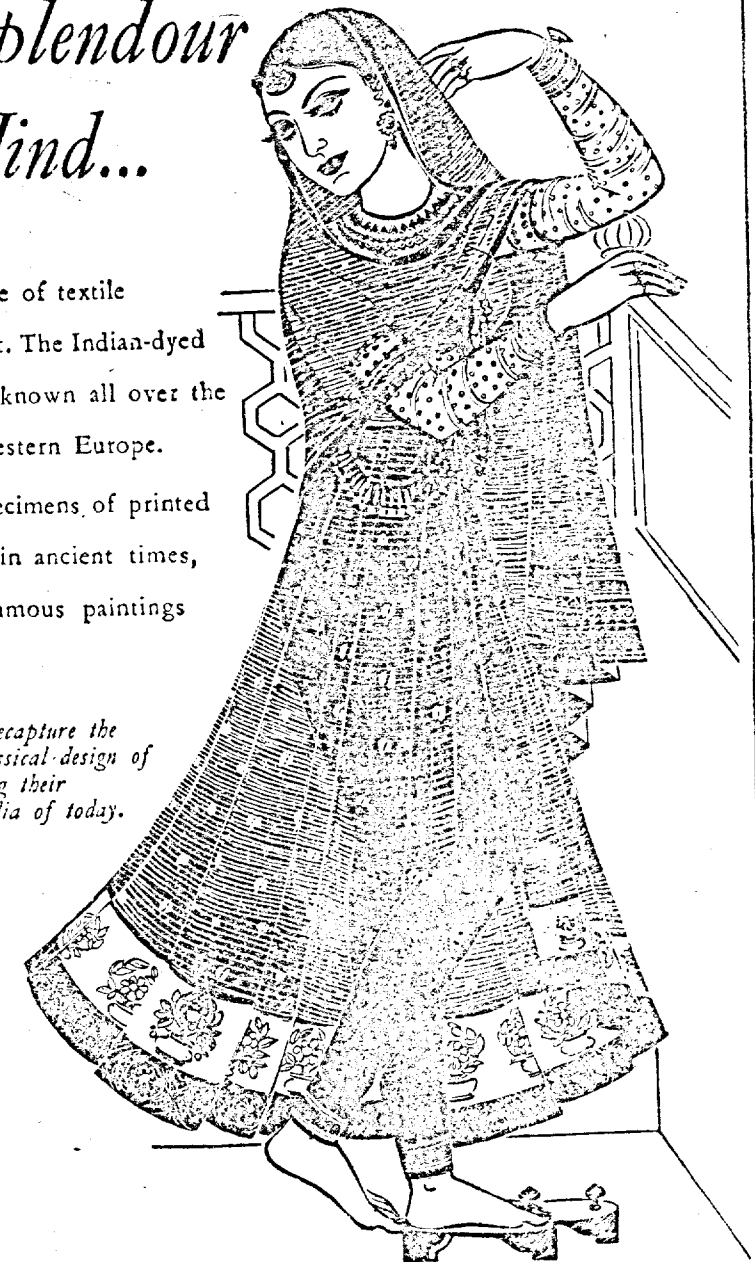
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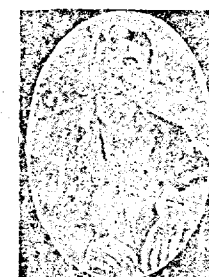
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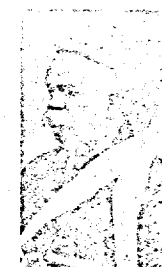
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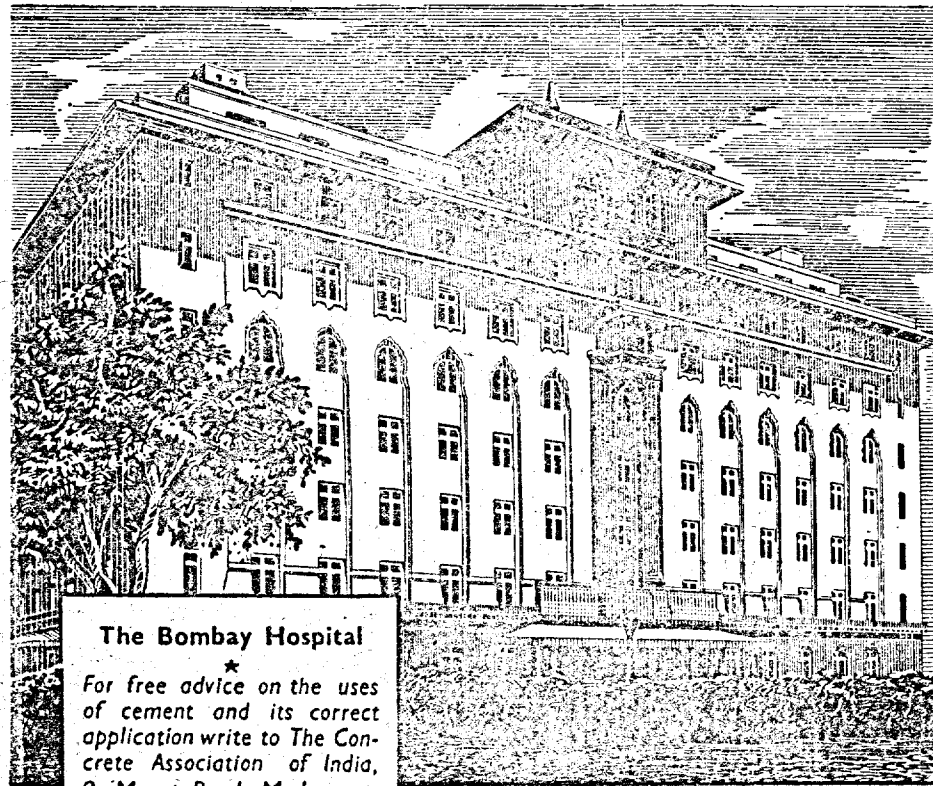
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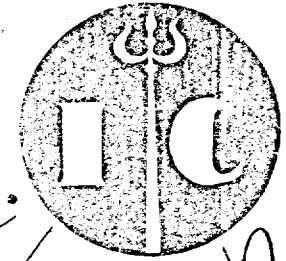
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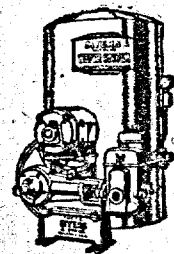


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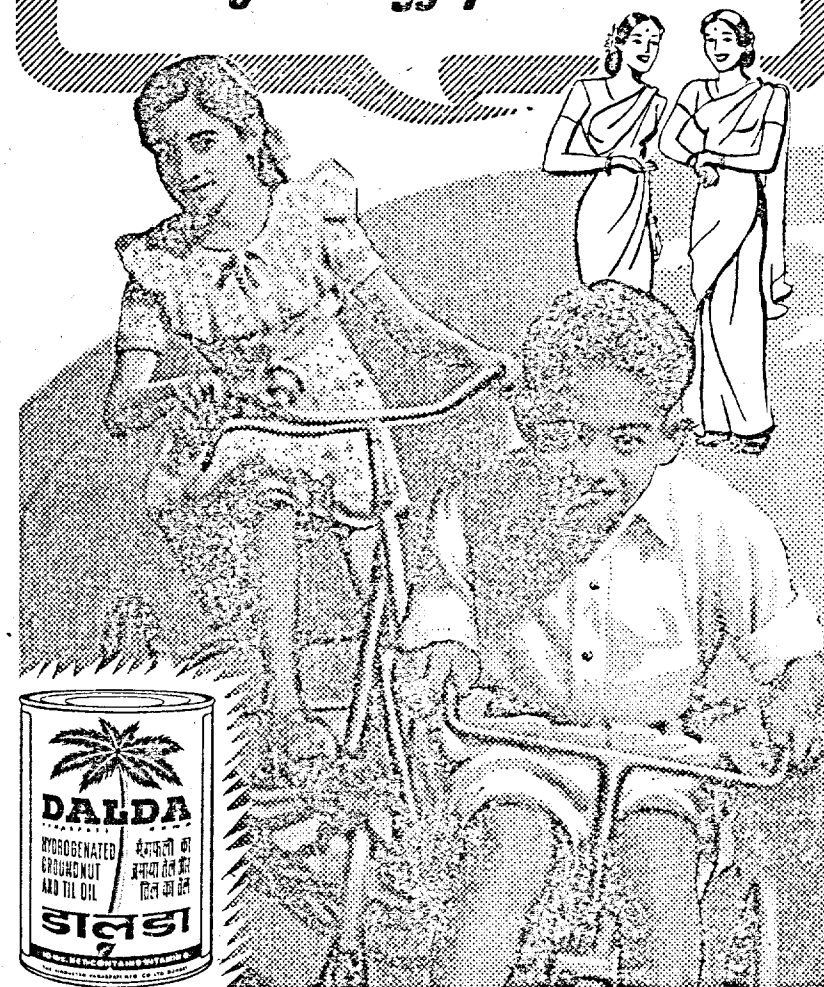
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Vol. 52.]

AUGUST 1951

[No. 8.]

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

THE report of the Planning Commission, or rather the draft outline of the first five year plan is bound, on first reading, to disappoint an already weary and dis-illusioned but expectant public. For it contains little that is new or spectacular; and proposes no measures which evoke enthusiasm or promise quick results. This feeling of disappointment, however, in no way detracts from the value of a sober, serious and well-conceived report. On the contrary it is a direct measure of the illusions and false hopes which many have hugged, for over a generation during which there has been far too much loose talk about the unlimited resources and the vast potentialities of the country. Foreign rule could serve as a ready-made reason for all ills. Many were led to believe that the mere removal of foreign rule would, so to say, open the tap from which milk and honey would flow into the land. That was perhaps a necessary phase in the struggle for independence. These illusions have already worn thin or have been mostly shattered. Nevertheless, the presentation of a picture of cold gloom with but distant prospects of dawn is apt to cause irritation as the first reaction. The Planning Commission is to be congratulated on its wisdom and political courage in administering this healthy cold douche on the eve of a general election.

Shorn of detail, the first five year plan represents a plan for survival rather than for development. The first part, involving public investment and expenditure of Rs. 1498 crores is designed merely to restore the pre-war availability of essential goods—not even to secure the minimum 16 ounces of foodgrains and 15

yards of cloth required by every man. No wonder, that the Commission has urged that this part must be implemented "at all costs." The second part involving a further investment of 300 crores is designed to lay the foundations for further development. The rest of the plan consists largely of preliminary measures which would prepare the ground for further advance in the next period. With admirable realism the plan is largely confined to public investment and expenditure. Means of influencing the development of the Private Sector need time to be developed and during the first five years private enterprise is largely left to its own resources. In this field the plan is more an estimate of what may be reasonably expected to happen than a set of definite targets to be attained by specific means.

The Food Problem rightly dominates the report. The background is grim and gloomy. There are already too many people and there is no prospect or possibility of reducing the growth of population in the near future. The area under cultivation has been increasing but slowly and the yield of the land is stagnant or diminishing. An added burden on the land is the ever increasing number of useless cattle. Here again there is little prospect in the near future of reducing the number of cattle or using them better. Against this background, the concentration of effort on expanding irrigation, power and agricultural production is easily understandable. The plan for transport and communications is essentially one of restoration and improvement rather than of expansion. Industry and social services are assigned only a

very modest part consisting largely of the completion of existing and assisting existing steel works to expand, enabling the Vizag shipyard to continue to work. The idea of planning has steadily gained ground with the progress of the Soviet experiment on the one hand and the repeated failure of the capitalist system to deal with the problem of poverty amidst plenty on the other. A vast and confusing literature has grown up on the subject and the paraphernalia and idiom of planning have, with time, been divorced from their context. The report of the Commission admirably clarifies many of these issues and sets out lucidly the relation of economic planning to the social and political order and in particular the limitations of democratic planning. Totalitarian planning is firmly rejected on the essential ground that any extra material gain possible by that method is definitely not worth the sacrifice of freedom and essential human values. In planning, it is comparatively easier to determine *what* should be done; the really difficult problem is *how* to do it with the resources available and how to increase effective resources. In this matter, the totalitarian planner has a great advantage; he can impose the sacrifices necessary but the democratic planner has to be largely content with evoking these sacrifices by voluntary co-operation. In the short period it is easier to conquer than to win. But the latter gives more enduring results. The Planning Commission unhesitatingly recommends the slower and more difficult but the more enduring though unspectacular method. Planning in a mixed economy needs continuous effort in keeping strictly to the middle way and steering clear of rocks and shoals. The report, therefore, veritably bristles with dilemmas and in every case a path is indicated which perhaps in the long run, may prove to be satisfactory.

The most notable instance of this kind and perhaps the only feature of the report with any claim to novelty, is the scheme for co-operative farming by Village Production Councils. This scheme represents a new departure in agriculture based on a partial separation of ownership from management. Improvement of the technique of agricultural

production demands large farms but the inherited social structure is far too opposed to nationalisation and collective farming on the Soviet model. Apart from anything else the virtual impossibility of providing for the surplus labour rules out this alternative. The Planning Commission has, therefore, evolved an elaborate compromise which seeks to reconcile peasant proprietorship, limitation of holdings, grant of lands to landless cultivators, Capitalist farming and the modern technique of agriculture. A place is found for the individual owner of a large holding subject to his acceptance of certain obligations such as the adoption of improved technical methods of farming and the sale of surplus produce to the Government. At the same time the creation of new large individual holdings is checked. Co-operative farming is the answer given by the Commission to the problem of reconciling uneconomic holdings with improved agriculture. The plan has on the face of it many attractive features and if successful will open up an interesting vista of new possibilities. But one legitimately entertains grave doubts about its success in operation. The sense of private property is deepest in the peasant. He is par-excellence an individualist. It is a matter for speculation whether co-operative farming on the lines recommended may not lead to a further deterioration in the standards of agriculture. In fact, there is a grave danger of the standard falling to the lowest common factor. Nevertheless it would appear worthwhile to experiment with the scheme on a fairly extensive scale in different parts of the country under different social conditions.

Another dilemma which the Commission has attempted to face is the need to secure a more equitable distribution of wealth on the one hand and the need to increase the total volume of savings on the other. The outlay required for the 5 year plan in the Public Sector together with the needs of large-scale industries in the Private Sector averages over 400 crores per annum, a rate of investment which is perhaps a little too high for a country with a national income of only 900 crores. This outlay, however, is the very minimum required to prevent

a further fall in the standard of living. But the effect of the various measures of taxation, land reform, industrial housing and social welfare proposed by the Commission, may well be to render this measure of saving and investment extremely difficult. The Commission has squarely posed the problem, but has offered no solution worth the name. The conclusion seems to be "let us hope for the best." If foreign aid comes to our rescue, well and good. If not, the sacrifice necessary to implement the first part of the plan "at all costs" must be spread over the people in an un-organised way by the method of deficit financing.

If this conclusion is to be accepted one is tempted to ask why we should not go a little further in the same direction and lay firmer foundations in the industrial field. The plan for industry is about the weakest part. The consolidation of results which may be achieved by the plans for agriculture, irrigation and power needs the early establishment of sufficient steel production. But the plan provides only for the expansion of the existing works and for pig iron production in a small way. Both from the economic and strategic points of view the whole structure of the economy must be regarded as inadequate and weak without an ample supply of steel. New steel works must be established immediately whether by Government or otherwise. One hopes that in the final plan the necessary provision will be made.

As indicated earlier the strength of the plan consists in those very aspects of realism which tend to make it temporarily unpopular. The weaknesses of the plan emerge from the failure of the Commission on account of political and sentimental considerations, to face a number of fundamental problems which have been posed in the report. To cite only a few, the magnitude of the population problem has been well set out in the earlier part of the report but in the Chapter on 'Health' the approach to its solution is weak and halting. One cannot resist the impression that this is due to a desire to avoid locating on ground which bristles with superstitions and prejudices.

An even more halting attitude characterises the treatment of the cattle problem. Obviously, sentiment or at any rate the desire not to offend long established sentiments, has impeded objective thought on the subject. The suggestion that old and useless cattle should be isolated in camps to be left to die in peace can hardly pretend to be the beginning of a solution. If the growth of human and cattle population cannot be checked the need for increasing the resources available becomes all the greater. In such a context the continued sacrifice of revenue involved by prohibition is a luxury which the country can ill afford at present. The maintenance of prohibition involves an undue strain on the economy at present. The Commission regards the maintenance of a stable price level as an essential condition for implementing the plan. This has been the objective of the Government during the last 3 years. But the government has definitely failed to hold the price level. How precisely the Planning Commission proposes to get better results in the future is not clear from the Report. But deficit financing will certainly not help. Yet, the Commission has failed to propose the only practicable step which, under present conditions, can help to avoid deficit financing *viz.*, the postponement of prohibition until the country is ripe for it. Successful planning is possible only by a clear recognition that one cannot have everything; its essence is the courageous exercise of choice. In this the Commission has begun well but unless the cobwebs of prejudice and sentiment are brushed away more ruthlessly, the further steps are bound to be faltering.

The report purports to be only a broad outline designed to evoke public comment and criticism. The tone of the report encourages hopes of active response to such criticism from the public. We, therefore, offer some suggestions below:

(1) A closer study is needed of the causes of the fall in agricultural productivity.

(2) Steps to check the growth of population must be taken immediately even though the results will not be visible during the next five years. There must be a widespread and intensive campaign to

propagate birth-control and to render its practice within the means of everyone. Expenditure for this purpose must take equal priority with agriculture and irrigation.

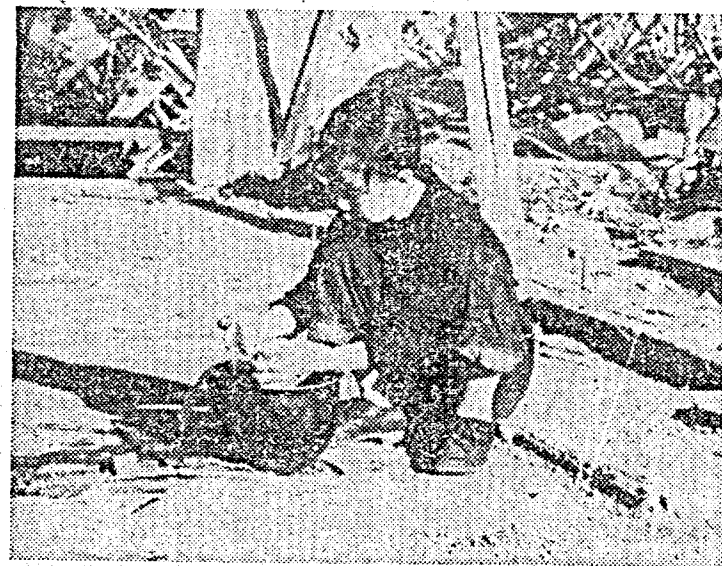
(3) Co-operative farming should be adopted only as an experimental measure. The need for immediate increase of production being paramount, modern farming on a large scale by individuals should be encouraged. Any rules for the limitation of individual holdings must provide for the exemption of those holdings which are managed scientifically and progressively.

(4) Prohibition should be postponed but its place should be taken by sustained propaganda for temperance or abstinence.

(5) In devising new measures of taxation care should be taken to avoid further diminution of savings. On the contrary voluntary savings must be actively stimulated and the possibility of compulsory savings should be investigated.

(6) Deficit financing must, if possible, be avoided. But if it is resorted to at all it should be only for the purpose of strengthening the industrial foundation of the economy by the establishment of basic industries like steel.

(7) The use of the idle time of the people must be organised more effectively than is indicated in the report. A measure of compulsion of certain specific local purposes would be well worth attempting.



Amidst the ruins of Seoul, capital city of Korea, a tiny Korean girl, unaffected by the grim reminders of Communist destruction surrounding her, washes her doll in a United States soldier's helmet.

Kashmir, Korea and the United Nations

BY SRI D. L. DUTT

[T is a far cry from Kashmir to Korea. Yet the shape of events in those two corners of the world have been giving continued headaches to the United Nations for sometime past. That great international organisation which stands for peace and security in the world and is the machinery through which nations can co-operate in the task of living together as good neighbours, may be said to be on its trial. If it fails finally in the attainment of those objectives so far as Kashmir and Korea are concerned, its very existence will be jeopardised.

The Kashmir affair is nearly four years old. It has been before the UN Security Council for three and a half years, with no better result than an uneasy cease-fire that runs the risk of being violated at any moment.

In Korea, on the other hand, bitter fighting has now been in progress for a year and, until recently, has shown no sign of coming to an end. Meanwhile, casualties have been piling up on both sides, and the country is almost flattened. The enormity of the sufferings of the Koreans cannot be measured in words.

To question the sincerity of the nations dominating the UN in their efforts to bring about lasting settlements acceptable to the parties concerned, would be obviously unfair. Considering, however, that aggression has been at the root of the flare-up in each case, one wonders if, in its approach to both, the UN has laid stress on the same principle. It is also pertinent to ask if, in dealing with the two cases, the Security Council has displayed the same promptness and speed. A factual comparison would be interesting.

Following an invasion of the Kashmir Valley, during the third week of October 1947, by fully equipped tribes from Pakistan whose advance the State forces could not stop, the Maharaja appealed to India for aid and offered to accede. The Indian Government agreed, on condition that, after the raiders had been driven back and law and order restored, the question of accession would be finally settled by a reference to the

people of Kashmir. Indian troops which then arrived in the State, managed not only to stem the tide of the tribal hordes but also to turn them back. But that is another story.

On December 22, 1947, while the fighting was still on, the Indian Prime Minister wrote to his opposite number in Pakistan, requesting his Government to deny to the invaders (1) all access to the Pakistan territory for operations against Kashmir, (2) all military and other supplies and (3) all other kinds of aid that might prolong the struggle. Receiving no reply, in spite of reminders, the Indian Government made a formal reference to the Security Council on December 30. After stating the facts of the case which, according to it, pointed to Pakistan's complicity in the aggression, it requested the Security Council to (1) prevent Pakistan Government personnel from taking part or helping in the invasion of Kashmir, and (2) call upon Pakistan to desist from taking part in the fighting in Kashmir and to deny to the invaders all aid as requested in the Indian Prime Minister's letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The matter came up before the Security Council on January 15, 1948, that is two weeks later. After prolonged discussions, in the course of which the Pakistani delegate not only denied the presence of his country's troops in Kashmir but also made counter allegations of aggression, genocide and fraudulent procurement of the accession of Kashmir, against India, the Security Council appointed a five-man Commission on April 24, 1948. The Commission included one nominee each of India and Pakistan.

The main provisions of the relevant resolution directed (1) the Commission to proceed immediately to India and Pakistan to place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the two Governments for taking necessary measures for the restoration of peace and for the holding of a plebiscite in full co-operation with each other and the Commission, (2) the withdrawal by Pakistan of all her

nationals who had entered Kashmir to take part in the fighting and refusal by her of all aid to the invaders, (3) progressive reduction of the Indian forces in Kashmir consistent with the minimum needed to help the civil power in maintaining law and order, on the Commission being satisfied that the tribesmen were withdrawing and the cease fire arrangements were effective and (4) that arrangements should be made for the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite under the Plebiscite Administrator.

Both the Governments notified the Security Council of their readiness to welcome the Commission and to assist it in every possible way, without committing themselves to the acceptance of the specific recommendations. The Indian objection lay in the reduction of the forces and to the control of the state forces by the Plebiscite Administrator, while Pakistan objected to the presence of Shaik Abdulla at the helm affairs in Kashmir.

The Commission arrived in Karachi on the following July 8, and in Delhi two days later—that is over six months after India's reference to the Security Council. On August 14 next, it presented to the two Governments simultaneously, its proposals for a cease fire as embodied in its resolution of August 13 which also contained certain principles for a truce.

Those principles recommended as follows:

(1) As the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir constituted a material change in the situation as represented by Pakistan before the Security Council, she should (a) agree to withdraw her troops from the state and (b) persuade the tribesmen also to withdraw.

(2) The areas evacuated by Pakistan should be administered by the local authority under the surveillance of the Commission.

(3) After the Commission notifies that the Pakistan nationals have withdrawn and that her troops were withdrawing, India should reduce her troops in Kashmir gradually.

(4) Pending a final settlement, India will maintain within the line of cease-fire, such troops as agreed to in consultation with the Commission who will have its observers there.

(5) India should undertake to insure that the Kashmir Government will notify publicly that law and order will be safeguarded and human rights guaranteed.

Having failed to secure agreement on its proposals, the Commission left the shores of the sub-continent on September 22, 1948. Earlier, it announced that it had sent a letter to Pakistan's Foreign Minister expressing its "great regret" that the latter's Government had not agreed to accept the proposals without attaching certain conditions beyond the compass of the resolution.

In the course of its report to the Security Council on November 23, 1948, it pointed out that on arrival in the sub-continent it had been faced with a situation "different from that which the Security Council had envisaged during its deliberations, inasmuch as an entirely unforeseen development had arisen in the presence of Pakistan troops in Kashmir." It also stated that while India had accepted its proposals as a whole, Pakistan had attached certain conditions which being beyond the compass of the resolution, made immediate cease-fire and the beginning of fruitful conversations impossible.

Further efforts were made by Dr. Lozano (Columbia), a member of the Commission and Dr. Colban (Norway), the personal representative of the Secretary General, and a cease-fire was ordered by the two Governments on the midnight of December 31, 1948—January 1, 1949. This was in anticipation of fresh proposals for the holding of a plebiscite. On November 3, 1949, the UN Control Headquarters announced that the demarcation of the cease-fire line under the Karachi agreement of July 26, 1949 had been completed and the terms of the agreement fulfilled.

During the year 1949, no agreement on the truce terms was arrived at, and India rejected the proposal for arbitration. In a statement made on September 25, the Commission said:

The Commission reaffirms its belief that a peaceful solution on the present situation in Kashmir will be reached and leaves India and Pakistan in the hope that the report to the Security Council will further this purpose.

The next move of the Security Council was the appointment of Sir Owen Dixon, an Australian jurist, as mediator. Sir Owen arrived in Kashmir on April 12, 1950 and

flew constantly between Delhi and Karachi in his efforts to bring about a settlement. A conference arranged by him between the two prime ministers and himself, began at Delhi on July 4. It broke down on the question of demilitarization, and other proposals submitted by the mediator—including that of partition of the State—were rejected.

On August 22, Sir Owen announced that there being no immediate prospect of the two countries coming to an agreement on Kashmir, no useful purpose would be served by his remaining in the sub-continent. In his report to the Security Council on September 19, he emphasised the danger to peace in two armies facing each other across a cease-fire line, and recommended that pressure should be put on the two Governments for reducing the military strength holding the line to that needed for the normal protection of a peace time frontier. The initiative, suggested the mediator, should pass to the parties. According to him, however, the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan was contrary to international law.

The latest action of the Security Council is to appoint by its resolutions of February 21 and April 30, 1951, a successor to Sir Owen Dixon as the UN representative, in the person of Dr. Frank Graham of USA. The relevant resolution directs that the parties should accept arbitration on all outstanding points of difference if, in the opinion of the UN Representative, the discussions fail to result in full agreement. Such arbitration is to be carried out by an arbitrator, or a panel of arbitrators, appointed by the International Court of Justice in consultation with India and Pakistan. India has rejected the resolution while Pakistan has accepted it. Dr. Graham has already arrived and has had long interviews with leading men of the parties concerned in the dispute.

The facts enumerated above make two things clear. Firstly, There was considerable time lag between India's reference to the Security Council and the arrival of the UN Commission in the sub-continent. Secondly, the aggressor has been placed on the same level as the victim, even

after the former's belated admission of the presence of her troops in Kashmir.

Let us now have a look at the Korean picture. On June 25, 1950, at 3 a.m. the US Government reported to the UN of an attack on South Korea by North Korea and requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council. The Security Council met on the same day at 3 p.m. having in the meanwhile received a report from the UN Temporary Commission on Korea which was then in that country. The report confirmed that South Korea had been invaded.

The Security Council declared the attack as a breach of peace and called for (1) immediate cessation of hostilities and (2) withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel. It also asked all member nations to help the UN in the execution of the resolution and to refrain from giving any aid to the North Korean authorities. The Commission was asked to observe the withdrawal and keep the Security Council informed.

Two days later, on June 27, President Truman announced at noon that he had ordered US air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support. The Security Council met on the same day at 3 p.m. It discussed the cablegrams received from the Commission which stated *inter alia* (1) the Commission's conviction that North Korea would not heed to the Council's resolution nor accept the good offices of the Commission and (2) the Commission's view, as judged from the actual progress of the operations, that North Korea was carrying out a well planned, concerted and full scale attack of which the South Korean Government had no earlier information.

The Security Council now recommended to the members of the UN to render such aid to the Republic of Korea as may be needed to repel the armed attack and to restore peace security in the area. The Yugo-Slavian proposal for giving a hearing to North Korea was rejected.

Since then, the forces of a number of nations but mainly those of the US—have been fighting on the side of the South Koreans and China has thrown

her weight on the side of North Korea.* India's recommendation that the UN forces should not cross the 38th parallel has been rejected.

Thus, in contrast to its treatment of the situation in Kashmir, the Security Council of the UN has attended to the situation in Korea with all possible promptness and speed. The whole weight of the UN—so to say has been pressed into service against the aggressor.

The following extracts from "The Armed Forces Talk" of October 24, 1950 (United Nations Day) published by Secretary of Defence, Washington, would be of more than passing interest in this connection. Speaking of "India-Pakistan" it says:

In 1948, the UN was faced with a dispute between the newly independent countries of India and Pakistan, the former of which is populated mostly by Hindus and the latter mostly by Moslems. In the predominantly Moslem province of Kashmir, a revolt broke out against its Hindu ruler. At the same time, Moslem tribesmen

* China has been declared an aggressor by the UN.

invaded Kashmir. The Hindu ruler declared Kashmir to be a part of India and India complained to the Security Council that Pakistan was arming and aiding the attacking tribesmen. The UN, persuaded both sides to a cease-fire. . . . These efforts failed to solve all the issues, but it is believed that strong UN pressure will lead to a just settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

Under the heading "Prompt Action in the Korean Crisis" it says:

The surprise attack on the Korean Republic by the North Korean Communist regime in June 1950, was a threat to world peace. . . . with great speed, the Security Council met and passed a resolution that the armed attack on the Republic of Korea by North Korea was a threat to world peace. . . . The action of the UN in Korea has greatly increased its prestige and effectiveness.

Thus according to the official US view, which seems to be the UN view too, one is just a "dispute" based on religion while the other is a "threat to world peace." The knowledgeable may say that it is all power politics and that Pakistan's goodwill being essential to the Western powers in their fight against Communism, they are not likely to displease her. The question naturally arises, "What then is the United Nations for?"

IMAGE

BY MR. CYRIL MODAK

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In the temple of mine eyes
I have set your image fair;
When the lazy sun doth rise
For your benediction there
See! my spirit flies!

And your smile doth touch my day
Into radiant happiness,
Stealing through my mortal clay
With keen thrills my soul to bless,
While it kneels to pray!

May the moments freshly clad
Bring the unstaled buds for you,
Sweetest love when you are sad
Keep your heart with dreams like dew
Drench'd and young and glad.

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

BY MR. R. N. AINGAR, BAR-AT-LAW

LET me start with a personal reminiscence. I first met Sir M. Visvesvaraya nearly forty-three years ago, in 1908, in London. We were a party of the National Indian Association, and we were having a conducted tour round



of all his passion for facts and figures, for data and designs, a very human and likeable person. He believes in cultivating serenity of mind. He is happy in his work; and he works untiringly for his country. For intensive industry, extensive outlook, encyclopaedic information on all matters relating to industries, manufactures and commerce, it is hard to find his equal; certainly there is no one superior to him. He is imbued with ideas and ideals for the education of the country, the uplift of the masses—especially the rural population—and the eradication of all class and communal distinctions. He is in favour of retaining the use of the English language, practising planned parenthood, carrying on the grow-more-food-campaign and rapid industrialisation of the country, with increase of efficiency and general output. He wants the country to be self-contained and self-sufficient in as many respects as possible. Above all, he desires the country to be fully trained and prepared for defence purposes in this unfortunately war-minded, though war-sick, world.

At the age of ninety he is still as active as ever he was. Sixty-seven years of hard and incessant work has not dulled his appetite for more work. In fact, he seems to thrive on work. Aristocratic by environment, democratic by persuasion, humanistic by temperament and education he is indeed well-fitted to be, what he is, a guide, mentor, and friend of his country.

An authentic record* made by himself of his life-work for sixty-seven years past, from the age of twenty-three, when he entered the Bombay Government service as an Assistant Engineer, to the present day, is a most valuable and inspiring document. It is interesting to note that his first official experience was not very heartening. He had been put in charge of constructing a pipe syphon across a channel. Frequent showers and resulting floods seriously interfered with the work. He reported to the higher authorities that he would stop the work for some time and resume it after the monsoon

the Windsor Palace and Gardens. I did not know him then, but was struck with the fact that, though he was a member of our party, he was content to keep to himself and strolled about alone, jotting down notes all the time in a pocket book. I happened to enquire of a fellow Mysorean who that gentleman was, and he was surprised that I did not know Mr. Visvesvaraya, who had already acquired an all-India fame. However, he introduced me to Mr. Visvesvaraya, who was very glad to meet us and invited us to dine with him at the Cadogan Hotel, where, if I remember aright, he was then staying. He gave us a vegetarian dinner and explained that he was himself a strict vegetarian. We could not have wished for a more charming host. He gave us a delightful evening, with excellent food and most interesting conversation. He thus belied my first impressions of him profoundly. And I am so glad he did.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya is not merely a great engineer, an efficient administrator, and an ardent patriot; but also, in spite

* MEMOIRS OF MY WORKING LIFE; By Sir M. Visvesvaraya; published by the Author, "Uplands," High Ground, Bangalore. Price Rs. 6.

abated. The memo he got back insisted that the work should not be interrupted, and ended with the remarks: "The Assistant Engineer is beginning his career badly as regards energy and obedience to orders."—

Shades of the past! Could but the Executive Engineer who made that remark have foreseen what that Assistant Engineer has since achieved, he would have been most agreeably surprised and penitent. However, Mr. Visvesvaraya persisted in the work and soon completed the rock cutting and laying the pipes in position. Persistence won the battle and the day. That was in or about 1884. He soon made his mark in the profession. Fortune favoured him. His superior officers and the government smiled on him. Within twenty months of his entry into service, he reached the First Grade which entitled him to draw a salary of Rs. 500 a month. He rose rapidly to higher posts and was mostly put on special works. He superseded many of his seniors already in service. He rose to be Executive Engineer, with the rank of a Superintending Engineer. But he felt that, in spite of all his successes, there was little chance of his being appointed Chief Engineer, except when his turn should come according to his original rank. So in 1908 he retired from Bombay service. Though he was not entitled by service to a pension, the Government of Bombay wrote to the Government of India that "the service rendered by Mr. Visvesvaraya had been exceptionally meritorious and fully entitled him to the additional pension". Thereafter, he was for some time in charge of special work in Hyderabad. In 1909 he was appointed Chief Engineer in Mysore; and in 1912 he became the Dewan of the Mysore State. It was the first time an engineer had been appointed as head of an administration. Subsequent events proved beyond all doubt or cavil that the selection was fully deserved. Mysore has every reason to be proud and grateful to its Engineer-Dewan for all that he has done for the progress and prosperity of the State and its people. After a distinguished career as Dewan, he voluntarily retired from that high office in 1918. He retired as a protest against the appointment of the "Miller Committee", as he was opposed to it and felt that its

conclusions would detract from the general efficiency of the administration.

A bare recital of the numerous special works he has been in charge of or consulted about by the various Governments, Public Bodies and Private Companies all over the country, and his work on several Committees, for the last sixty seven years fills a good sized volume. The last three Chapters of the book are particularly interesting and give his general ideas on the application to the national life of the country of some of the lessons which he has learnt through his vast and varied experiences in this country and by his frequent travels and close observation in foreign countries.

Nurtured under the British traditions of discipline, efficiency and thoroughness; imbued with the European urge for material progress and advancement; inspired by the ambition and hustle, so characteristic of the Americans; profoundly impressed by the Japanese "Code of Education" in its aims and practical applications; Sir M. Visvesvaraya gives his four-point programme for the national reconstruction of India:—(i). progressively harder work, (ii). periodically planned and disciplined work, (iii). increasingly efficient work, and (iv). courtesy towards fellow workers and service. His entire philosophy of life may be summed up in one word—WORK. So far as the life and progress of community as a whole is concerned, it would appear that work and efficiency and discipline count most.

You have only to look at the man—thin, spare, and almost ascetic; a big head crowned with a bigger turban; immaculately dressed, austere and dignified; incessantly busy and meticulous in all his work; precise, punctual and punctilious; bearing his ninety years boldly and still taking his daily dose of a two-mile walk—to realise that Sir M. Visvesvaraya is one of those rare men that practice what they preach and preach only what they practice; who are living examples of their precepts. He says—and exemplifies it in his own life.

"Character and efficiency in the long run lead to high working capacity, comfortable living and longevity".

WHITHER BURMA?

BY PROF. S. B. MOOKHERJI, M.A.

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AFTER annexation to Britain's Indian empire in 1885, Burma had a common political and administrative life with her neighbour across the Bay of Bengal till 1937. Pressure of Burmese political opinion was the ostensible cause of separation. The real cause however lies deeper. Britain's political and economic interests demanded the separation of Burma from India.

During World War II Burma was overrun by Japan and remained in the latter's occupation till 1945. She succumbed to the aggressor without any resistance worth the name. Burma's strong anti-British sentiments coupled with Britain's utter unpreparedness account for the dramatic, tragic no doubt for the Whiteman's prestige and fortunes, developments in the East during the fateful winter and summer months of 1941-42. England had put an unjustifiably high premium on the face-value of the Whiteman in the East.

Already in the thirties the impatient Burmese nationalist had turned to Nippon as the deliverer. To him an "unknown devil" (Japan) was preferable to the known (British). But he was disillusioned after a short spell of Japanese rule. The frustrated Burmese nationalist turned back as readily to hated Britain as he had turned away from her. World War II and the Japanese occupation of Burma constitute an important land-mark in her struggle for national emancipation. Japan's policy in Burma whetted the Burman's urge for freedom. It was this urge which fathered the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (A.F.P.F.L.), which soon developed into a forum for all the leftist forces in the country. The Communists, the Socialists, the Thakins and others swelled the ranks of the League. The greatest achievements of the League were the awakening of political consciousness amongst the hitherto apathetic Burmese masses and the creation of a mass political militancy among them. Burmese guerillas organised into the "Burma Patriotic forces" had begun to fight the Japanese with conspicuous heroism and considera-

ble success long before the Allied armies, again set foot on the Burmese soil. But their exploits were for a long time blacked out from the world outside. The Allied Command, which knew everything, preferred to keep mum. General Aung San after a brief spell of collaboration with the Japanese turned over the Burma Defence Army to the Allies, which under his command was secretly deployed to co-operate with the British forces. But for the organisation of the Burmese masses into militant units by the League Allied Victory in the Far East would have been long delayed.

The Union Jack was re-planted on the Burmese soil early in 1945. On September 28, 1946, an interim national Government on the pattern of the interim Government in India assumed office with General Aung San as the Chief Minister. The London conference (January 1947) outlined the political shape of things to come to Burma. A Constituent Assembly was to be elected under the 1935 Act and the British rule was to continue for the time being with the help of a Legislature nominated from among the Constituent Assembly members by the British Governor. The Constituent Assembly was to decide the future of Burma.

An important section of Burmese political opinion represented by U Saw Thakin Ba Sein started a nation-wide campaign for the boycott of the election of the Constituent Assembly. The A.F.P.F.L. under the leadership of General Aung San swept the polls. In the meanwhile the General's career was fast drawing to a tragic close. On July 19, 1947, he and five of his Cabinet colleagues were assassinated in Rangoon Secretariat. U Saw, the brain behind the conspiracy, was hanged. The English Major Vivian, found guilty of supplying arms to the conspirators, was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

Thakin Nu, Vice-President of the A.F.P.F.L. and the President of the Constituent Assembly, succeeded Aung San and became the Prime Minister of Burma when she declared herself

a Sovereign Socialist Republic on January 4, 1948. Troubles started in February-March of the same year. The Communists openly revolted against the Government. In the opening round of the conflict they concentrated on sabotage activities and their policy at this stage may be summed up as one of "hit and run". Pro-Government circles asserted that the Communist revolt would not last the 1948 monsoons. They have proved to be false prophets.

The Burmese Communists are divided into two rival groups—the White Flag and the Red Flag. The former under the leadership of Thakin Than Tun are described as 'Stalinists' by the Foreign press. They are widely spread over the country and seem to be well-equipped, well-supplied and very much active. Thakin Than Tun was the first Secretary-General of the A.F.P.F.L. and aimed at converting the League into an out-right Communist front. Later on, with the co-operation of his righthand man H. N. Ghosal *alias* Thakin Ba Tin, the son of a former Bengali official in Burma, a graduate of the University of Rangoon and once a member of the Communist Party of India, he tried to capture the leadership of the A.F.P.F.L. Finally, after the expulsion of the Communists from the A.F.P.F.L. he went underground. About this time last year the White Flag Communists dominated the entire area from Toungoo northwards. They were even more formidable in early 1949, when they were reported to have an army 10,000 strong with some sort of training and claimed to have 'liberated' 48,000 out of 261,610 square miles of Burmese territory. Badly mauled by the Government troops, they are lying low for the time being.

The Red Flag Communists under the leadership of Thakin Soe are 'Trotskyists' and believe, unlike their White Flag fellow-travellers, that the Communist Party being meant for struggle, is meant only for those who believe in struggle. The latter on the other hand maintain that politics is after all a game and that diplomacy and struggle are not incompatible. The two leaders and their adherents finally parted company in March, 1948, and are to-day violently hostile to each other.

The P.V.O. (People's Volunteer Organisation) is an offshoot of the Liberation Army and the Burma Defence Army of the Japanese days and of the Patriotic Forces, which played a prominent part in driving out the Japanese from Burma. In the earlier stages of the Communist—A.F.P.F.L. conflict the P.V.O. played the peacemaker between the rival organisations. Their sympathies were with the Communists. Their attempts to bring the rivals together failed and a section of them—the White Band P.V.O. went underground in July, 1948. Prior to this a split had occurred in the P.V.O. ranks. When in June 1948, Prime Minister Thakin Nu announced his 14-point programme for Leftist unity, the majority of the P.V.O. opposed it. A small minority was in favour of the programme. The former came to be known as the White Band and the latter as the Yellow Band P.V.O. The White Bands are in revolt to-day.

When towards the beginning of 1949 the Karens took up arms against the Government the White Band P.V.O. offered to fight against the Karen insurgents. The offer was readily accepted. The Government liberally supplied arms and ammunition to the White Bands. But subsequently they again fell out with the Government. About 60% of them are however believed to have since taken advantage of the Government's amnesty offer and to have returned to the Government fold. According to latest despatches another 20% are also expected to take advantage of the offer.

Till recently the Karen insurrection constituted the most serious menace to the existence of the integrity of Burma. The Karens are Burma's largest racial minority and number between two and two and a half million. A fairly large number of them are Christians. The majority however are Buddhists and Animists. The Christian Karens are considerably de-nationalised. The memory of ill-treatment at the hands of the Burmese majority in the past still rankles in Karen memory. That is the principal reason why they want a separate sovereign state of their own. The constitution of Free Burma contains provisions for the creation of an autonomous Karen

State, which is not to secede from the Union of Burma within ten years.

The Separatist Karens have formed themselves into the K. N. D. O. (Karen National Defence Organisation) and took up arms against the Government in January, 1949. The K. N. D. O. insurrection soon assumed formidable proportions and at one time it seemed probable that the whole of Burma would be overrun by the K. N. D. O. Fall of the Nu Government seemed to be a question of days. Things became worse because the K. N. D. O. insurrection spurred the anti-social elements and other insurgent groups into greater activities than before.

Barring the Burma Gurkhas (*i.e.*, Nepalese settled in Burma), who number between one and two lacs, the Karens are Burma's best fighters. Since the K. N. D. O. insurrection many Karen soldiers of the Burma army have deserted to the rebels while those who did not have been disarmed and interned by the Government.

The K.N.D.O. controlled 50,000 square miles of territory in Central and lower Burma in 1949 and had their headquarters at Toungoo in Central Burma. The fall of Toungoo to the Government forces has been a shattering blow to the K.N.D.O. The death of their leader Saw Ba U Gyi has knocked out much of Karen militancy and intransigence. "The Karen revolt," it has been rightly pointed out, "would have melted away long ago if it had not received encouragement and help from British groups, civil and military, with long experience of Burma acquired from residence in the country during British regime. U.S.A. people—very few—have also been found helping the revolt."

The Mons or Talaings, another minority group, organised themselves into the M.N.D.O. and took up arms against the Government. The Mon insurrection was however never a formidable affair. According to one of their leaders, the Mons were to give up their resistance after Independence Day, 1951.

In Arakan in Lower Burma a separatist movement has been afoot for a considerable time. Three distinct insurgent groups are in the field—one under the ex-monk U Sheida and the other, the Muslim 'Mujahid' insurgents. "Yet a third group is represented by army deserters. The 'Mujahids' demand a merger with East Pakistan. They are armed with modern weapons and appear to have a large quantity of ammunition. The Burmese suspect and with good reason at that, that the "Mujahid" demand is for aim inspired. Infiltration from East Pakistan has been considerable; The rebels are taking advantage of central weakness. The Burma Gurkhas, mentioned once before, the Kachins and the Chins are loyal to the Union of Burma and are still fighting in the Burma army. But their valour and loyalty have not been given the recognition they merit. The Shans too are on the whole loyal to the Government.

Latest advices from Burma seem to indicate that Thakin Nu's Government has been steadily recovering the lost ground. But it is not yet out of the woods. The internal security position still remains unsettled. The police controls less than half of the country. Large pockets of rebel forces do still "exist in such widely separated points as Mandalay in the north, the Chindwin River valley in the west, Arakan in the south-west, the Thai-Burmese frontier east of Moulmein and the Taray-Merzui area in the extreme south-east." Surface communications are deplorably insecure. Trains and river craft are regularly attacked. In the meanwhile the exploits and achievements of Mao Tse Tung's followers across the borders and the steadily deteriorating standards of living in Burma itself are nurturing Communism on the Burmese soil. If Burma is to be saved for democracy and from confusion an earnest and all-out campaign must be launched at once for making life easier for the 'ludo' (the masses). "Cheap bread," said Napoleon, "is the supreme talisman of Statemanship." And bread here means clothes and other necessities of life as well.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By SRI R. J. VENKATESWARAN

WHEN in the beginning of the present century, Jamshedji Tata decided to set up the iron and steel industry in India, there were many who questioned the wisdom of the decision. It was argued that the conditions in this country, geographical and otherwise, were not conducive for the development of this key industry. Undeterred however Jamshedji Tata went ahead with his plans for setting up the steel industry. Today his countrymen can take legitimate pride in the great progress that this vital industry has made as a result of which India bids fair to become "the ferrous arsenal of the East."

The development of the iron and steel industry in India took place largely during the period between the first and the second world wars. The policy of protection which was followed for a period of 23 years between 1924 and 1947 powerfully stimulated its progress which was further accelerated by the second world war. It was during the period of the second world war that Tatas and Mysore Steel Works carried out substantial schemes of expansion. While Tatas set up a magnesite plant for the manufacture of pea-size magnesite, Mysore Iron and Steel Works installed a 25-ton blast furnace. Tatas also established a locomotive manufacturing company for the production of boilers and locomotives. Other significant achievements in this period were the manufacture of stainless steel, alloy and tool steels, high speed steels for machine tools, nickel steel plates for gun carriages, etc. Production of steel in 1941 amounted to 1,000,000 tons. According to the Census of Manufactures of 1947, the productive capital employed in this industry was Rs. 33.1 crores and the number of workers employed about 76,000. The total ex-factory value of the products and by-products of the industry amounted to Rs. 38 crores and the value added by manufacture, Rs. 18 crores.

All this is satisfactory, indeed, even remarkable. But it is by no means sufficient. We must greatly expand the productive capacity if we are to carry out

the numerous plans for industrial development. This is very essential both for meeting civil requirements and for our defence purposes.

It will be interesting in this connection to have a glance at the steel production figures in some of the leading countries of the world. In the U.S.A. production of steel in 1950 amounted to 87.7 million tons and it is proposed to increase the output by over one million tons by 1953. Britain's production in the same period is expected to go up to 18 million tons. Output in Western Europe is estimated to increase from 51.9 million tons to 63.2 million tons. As regards East Europe, the total production of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Rumania is expected to be higher from 8.2 million tons in 1950 to 10.8 million tons in 1953. Production in the Soviet Union in 1950 was 24.1 million tons and, in spite of great handicaps, that country also has drawn up an ambitious programme of steel expansion.

Viewed in the light of these figures, the Indian record of steel production is far from impressive. Production of finished steel in 1950, no doubt, recorded an increase over the previous year 9,83,000 tons against 9,30,000 tons in 1949. The overall position was however far from satisfactory because imports were greatly reduced (2,84,00 tons against 3,87,000 tons in 1949) largely because of the developments arising from Korean crisis. Consequently, the country is faced with an acute shortage of steel. Sir M. Visvesvaraya recently pointed out that because of steel shortage, our engineering industries are being compelled to work at less than 50 per cent. of their installed capacity.

It is essential therefore that we should take early and effective steps to expand and enlarge our capacity for producing steel. The Government of India decided about four years ago to set up two steel plants but financial difficulties have stood in the way of their establishment. The only wise course in such circumstances is to give every assistance, financial and otherwise, to the existing units to carry out their expansion plans.

WITH BRAKES OR WITHOUT?

By PRINCIPAL S. S. MATHUR, M.A.

IN "Sam the Sudden" P. G. Wodehouse has presented the very pattern of an impetuous youngman, who has most of his screws in the right place, but has no brakes. After gazing for weeks and weeks with unabashed admiration at the photograph of a beautiful girl published in an illustrated magazine, he felt he had known her all his life, and when chance brought him face to face with the original, he did not even wait for an introduction, but in the exuberance of a dream coming true, rushed straight to her and kissed her on the lips! The result can be imagined; just what it would be if at a critical juncture you discover that your bicycle or your car has no brakes—CRASH! The youngman reeled at the unkindness of a spanking slap, and the dream-girl presented the picture of an outraged Fury.

This is what invariably happens when we let our impetuosity carry us away at break-neck speed and have no brakes to stop when we ought to stop. At very happy news there is the irresistible impulse to jump and dance, but if we are in company we do nothing of the sort, and without our knowing, instinctively, we pull the brakes, and apart from a smile or a happy twinkle in the eye, there is no other demonstration of happiness. Likewise, even if you are hot and feel like throwing your clothes away, you do not do so in the presence of fair company. Instinctively again your automatic brakes are applied and you don't do what you very much want to.

So often in the presence of ladies or elderly people, we have to gulp down hot ungainly oaths which rush up to the mouth. One has even to swallow insults when it is not discreet to give vent to one's real feelings. We are thus constantly using our moral brakes, voluntarily and instinctively imposing checks on our liberty. Our brakes are really the most vital springs of civilisation, without them we would be wild, unfit for civilised society, and, perhaps, even a public menace.

The essence of culture really lies in the art of using restraint, in knowing exactly when and with what force to apply our moral

brakes. All education has this for an aim: it were useless if it did not train a young person in the art of using the strings of restraint. The talent may be variously described, Balance, Poise, Tact, Good Manners, or Discipline, all these in fact boil down to the vital art of when and how to pull the brakes!

The word "Liberty" sounds sweet, but by a strange irony, freedom in civilised life is one long round of powerful checks on one's personal liberty. We have all the while to hold the brakes tight so that we may not run away with ourselves in directions of our own personal choice, but tread warily on paths laid down by the society we live in, by the national order we have to subscribe to. And this is all-pervading. There is hardly any aspect of life where a very strict control over our primitive animalism is not essential. We need restraint in everything we do, or think or write, in our Religion, our Politics, Social intercourse, and even domestic husbandry. We have to be on our watch at all moments, for the flesh is weak and craves for indulgence and excess. We cannot afford to relax our hold of the brakes a single second. We need them everyday at dinner, for a loose hold of the brakes at the table, particularly if it happens to be a feast at a friend's, with a tempting display of delicacies, will lead us to the torture-house of Indigestion, and like-wise the absence of restraint in the matter of drink leads us head-long to the abyss of complete ruin. So too absence of restraint in the emotional exuberance of married life results in the economic disaster of a large unmanageable family, a problem requiring serious thought and scientific control most particularly in our own country. We need the restraining power of the brakes again in Conversation, for how easy it is for an eloquent speaker to be led away by the temptation of monopolising the talk to himself, and instead of winning approbation earn the title of a frightful bore.

A very difficult thing to achieve is a proper sense of proportion, and that again depends on the use of brakes. How often we meet young persons devo-

ting themselves entirely to one particular recreation or task to the exclusion of all other interests. Devotion to duty and concentration on the work in hand are admirable qualities; there can be no success without this concentration. But to lean with the whole weight, and for very long periods, on one particular thing only is to deprive oneself of knowledge and experience of other valuable things, besides limiting down the sphere of service to very narrow bounds. We have cases of students who give all their time to sports or to extra mural activities to the exclusion of all studies necessary for the passing of the Examination and vice-versa. Romance has a mighty attraction for us and we are ever ready to forgive a lover a score of follies, but when even love runs brake-less it turns the lover into a maniac, a Majnun or an Othello. We have also men and women who pick up certain crotchets, Golf or Bridge, or Chess or any such all-absorbing recreation, and indulge in the pursuit neglecting very important duties of life. When this happens we refer to the person as a Golf-fiend or a Bridge-fiend, for they have no brakes and for that reason deserve to be called not men or women, but "Fiends."

Our life needs proper planning: there must be a time and place for all we have to do. What we call sanity is really the talent for giving attention to all that concerns life with a lucid sense of proportion. One might really doubt the sanity of a lover who forgets all responsibilities and engagements because of a doting attachment to the beloved. It is for this reason perhaps that the all-wise Shakespeare placed the lover and the lunatic in one category. We must plan out our daily routine so that there is time for study and recreation as also for correspondence and business engagements, for worship as well as contemplation and all the numerous preoccupations—time for all these in proportion to the importance of things in the fabric of our life. And this can only be done if the brakes are worked with promptitude and ingenuity.

A proper sense of proportion is the vital lubricant of the hydraulic brakes of

the human sanity—it is the foundation of good sense, as also of a sense of humour. There can be no "sweetness and light" without it, and, therefore, no culture. If the brakes are not in order there can be no discipline; the human-machine will be chaotic, and our opinions and actions irrational and mob-like. That phrase we commonly use "a screw loose in the head," has a depth of meaning not commonly appreciated; it suggests the looseness of the brakes! Yes, the brakes are a delicate mechanism and need constant tightening.

Human personality is threatened perpetually with the fatal enigma of Dr. Jekyll; virtue and sanity being a life-long struggle against Mr. Hyde. We are disciplined or cultured in as much as we can curb down the animalism which is ever eager to burst forth. The horsepower of our animality needs the stiff control of moral brakes. If Cromwell's famous maxim "Trust in God and keep your power dry" represents the worldly wisdom that leads to success in life, the maxim "Trust in God and keep your brakes in good order", would constitute a moral philosophy leading to a well-balanced sanity and a culture of a high order.

Life is an adventure and we must run fast. We must have the thrills of this beautiful earth, and taste of all the sublime pleasures this world can offer. We must as Tennyson puts it "drink life to the lees". In fact we are alive only so far as we have full share of adventure and romance, of study, of social and public service and of domestic bliss. Life is short, and there is much to see and much to do. Like a motorist anxious to have an extensive tour of a beautiful country, we must capture speed and cover as many facets of the romance of life as we can. But the higher the speed, the greater the necessity for powerful and effective brakes. For a successful run of the journey of life therefore, all our moral brakes must be kept in proper trim and good repair. These brakes, however, have delicate and sensitive mechanism and have to be fed every hour of our conscious life with the sweet lubricant of Moderation.

CIVIL DEFENCE—ITS NEED AND SCOPE.

By SRI S. P. SHARMA

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THE Government of India have recently decided to start a Central Institution to impart training in fire-fighting services as an essential part of civil defence. Government also intend to standardise and manufacture locally fire-fighting equipment of the latest type. As civil defence goes to-day, these are very small steps, and their significance lies therefore not in what they are but in what they are likely to become. It would be instructive thus to study the full scope of civil defence and the methods of such defence adopted by different countries. Thereby we in this country shall be able to realise the long distance yet to be covered by us, before we may reasonably feel secure.

All defensive measures correspond naturally to the weapons of offence, that are likely to be used. It is air-power that has recently rendered the problem of civil defence both urgent and acute. But even so, the danger is taking on increasingly ominous shapes. Strategic bombing by the enemy of industrial and communication centres would be bad enough, but it is too often accompanied by "terror" bombing, intended to lower the morale of the people. Worse still, the bombs may be of the atomic variety. Guided missiles dropped from the air, or launched from enemy submarines off the coast are another means of attack. And still more pernicious ones may safely be expected to be in the offing. How is the civilian population to protect itself against the effects of attack by these weapons?

The object of civil defence is to organise such protection. To quote an American authority, it is "the mobilisation, organisation, and direction of the civil populace . . . to minimise the effects of enemy action directed against communities including industrial plants, facilities and other installations, to maintain or restore these facilities essential to civil life, and to preserve the maximum civil support to war-effort." Active defence measures like aircraft warning, anti-aircraft work, and internal security are all beyond the scope of civil defence.

It might be a matter of wonder in certain quarters why India should now be thinking of civil defence when there is no likelihood of any attacks on her. The chances of war, however, have nothing to do with preparations for civil defence. A quotation on the point from a British Home Secretary's speech on civil defence, delivered in 1935, when war was still four years ahead in the womb of time would serve to dispel doubts. He said:

The need for these measures in no way implies a risk of war in the near future . . . the measures . . . are wholly precautionary. . . . the government would be neglecting their duty to the civil population if they failed to take these precautions . . . It is impossible to guarantee immunity from attacks . . . so long as the possibility of attack exists, it is necessary to create organisations to minimise the consequences of attack, and as it would not be possible to improvise measures on the spur of the moment in time of emergency, preparation must be made in time of peace. It is of the essence of such preparation that the civil population must be informed of the present and future possibilities of air-attack and instructed in the precautions designed to meet it.

Thus the civil defence organisation in Britain was born in 1935. The Government there took the people into confidence and provided them with complete instructions as to air-raid precautions, private shelters, gas defence etc; this was preparation against war and not for war. When hostilities broke out in 1939, the Home Security office was raised to the status of a Ministry, headed by the Home Secretary and a Civil Defence Act was passed which made air-raid precautions mandatory, and enforceable through the Local Authorities. Two characteristics of the British system are worth noting. One is that it has a strong nucleus of full-time paid workers and the other that at the lowest operating level, the "Incident Control Officers" members of the civil defence organisation were given complete and unchallenged command over all civil forces and services at the scene of each incident, major or minor.

In Germany also, full seven years before the last war broke out, the National Air-raid Protection League got busy and

promoted a "volunteer-under pressure" organisation. At first the plans and technique of civil defence were all based on the principle of self-help. But later they became iron-bound legal requirements, enforceable with penalties for breach in performance or in preparation. By 1914, Germany felt obliged to strengthen her civil defences and to adopt an emergency construction programme. The system worked quite well in practice, its chief feature being the presence of a mobile reserve consisting of regular military forces principally Luftwaffe units, provided with fire-fighting, demolition and heavy rescue equipment. In addition thousands of Wehrmacht troops were utilised in debris clearance, thus paving way for the protective services.

In the U.S.A. the civil defence organisation, set up by cities, States and by the Federal Government, was all modelled on what obtained in Britain. But it was not till six months before Pearl Harbour that a national organisation came into existence. By executive order, the President then established the Office of Civil Defence with two divisions. One of these was concerned with regular protective services as in Britain while the other promoted 'volunteer participation' assisting national morale and promoting constructive service in support of war-effort. As America did not experience even a threat of air-raid, her civil defence work was mainly of the second variety, and included such diverse matters as victory gardens, war bond drives, salvage, rationing, education, etc. In due course, public opinion veered round towards emphasising the protective services.

Seven years before Britain or Germany ever thought of civil defence, Neighbourhood Groups throughout Japan were holding public air-raid drills, putting out simulated fires, and dumping sand on dummy incendiary bombs. The army frowned on these measures which suggested that any one could bomb Japan. But the Emperor and the Home Ministry were in favour of them. Immediately after the Doo-little raid, the Emperor by decree regularised the Neighbourhood groups and set up a regular organisation for air-raid protection. The Governor of each prefecture and the chief executives at all levels of

government, public utilities, and industry were required personally to command the air-raid protective services. Nonetheless both in Japan and in Germany the tempo of attack often overwhelmed the civil defence organisation. It is highly creditable however that the measures adopted in Japan for the evacuation of children are now admitted to have been most effective.

A few common features of the civil defence organisations of the different countries may now be glanced at, in conclusion of this article. Everywhere lessons were learnt largely by trial and error, and the local system all over reflected the political characteristics and the national peculiarities of the country for which it was intended. The very essence of civil defence is self-help at every stage. Each individual must know how to protect his own self, his home and family before calling upon the others for help. Higher authority should not be needlessly diverted from more important aspects of defence. The duty of organising, training and equipping for civil defence at all levels is that of the Government. And so also the work of rushing mobile reserves whenever and wherever needed. Thirdly there must be mutual confidence in the fullest measure between the Government and the people, the former supplying all the information needed by the public, and the latter having sufficiently high enthusiasm and morale. Lastly the armed forces should not be called away from their primary function of actively defending the country or attacking the enemy as the need may be. All this perhaps appears to be far-fetched so far as the immediate future of India can be looked into. But her present decision to train people in the latest types of fire-fighting will surely serve to keep them alert and to make them realise that if they did not help themselves in the face of attack, they would have no right to expect anyone else to come to their rescue.

A man with six children is better satisfied than a man with six million dollars. The man with six million dollars wants more.

—W. Boyd.

CENTENARY OF REUTERS

Representatives of the world's press from nearly 50 countries met in London in the second week of July to celebrate the centenary of the well-known news agency founded by Baron Julius Reuter. The Press banquet on July 11 was attended by over a thousand guests which included statesmen and journalists and dignitaries of the Church and distinguished figures in Law, Literature, Science, Industry and Sport. Newspaper and News Agency Chiefs from India and Australia and America took part in the celebrations at which Mr. Kent Cooper, Executive Director of the Associated Press of America proposed the toast of Reuters in a speech recalling the achievements of the great pioneer organisation during the hundred years of its career. Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, replying to the toast of "the guests" described Reuters as a very remarkable institution independent of Government and independent of politics. In this connection the following record of the life and achievements of the founder of this world-wide organisation, which has appeared in the *Hindu* from its special correspondent in London, may be read with interest.

IN 1851 Julius Reuter engaged two small rooms in London for the purpose of serving those engaged on the financial market with news from Europe. Before this new venture, he had been in turn bank clerk, book-seller and publisher in Berlin, translator to the Havas News Agency in Paris and pigeon-post news agency man in Aachen, Germany, but had come to the conclusion that London's financial market offered him the best chance of building up a successful telegram service.

His only assistant was a 12-year-old office boy. There were no telephones in those days. His news messages came by telegraph to the office of the telegraph company were brought to him by messenger and then copied by his assistant and himself before being delivered on foot to stock-broker and merchant subscribers.

In those days there was a telegraph system in Britain and telegraph lines in France, Belgium and Germany, but there was no Atlantic cable, no telegraph link with Asia or Australia, none indeed with the Mediterranean countries apart from France. Messages sometimes took months to reach London. To-day Reuters' staff in all parts of the world consists of more than 2,000 full-time executives, correspondents, reporters, sub-editors, communications experts, teleprinter operators, translators and accountants. There are telegraph and radio links with all parts of the world over which thousands of

words are sent every day. There is a Reuter office in almost every capital city in the world.

Through all these changes one factor has remained unchanged—the agency's respect for Truth. Reuters, now owned by the newspapers of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand and India, is proud of its reputation for honest, impartial and objective reporting.

In the early days of the agency Reuter relied on surface mail—by train and ship—for the delivery of news to the outward ends of the telegraph lines which came into London. The first seven years of his work in London were an uphill struggle to interest British newspapers in his service. While merchants and stock-brokers readily subscribed for his telegrams the newspapers were suspicious and preferred to make their own arrangements for obtaining news.

He steadily built up a chain of correspondents throughout Europe whose despatches were proving of immense value to businessmen. One day in September 1855 a Reuter messenger boy arrived at the Stock Exchange with the telegram: "Good news from Sebastopol." The message sent stocks soaring and grateful brokers chaired the messenger who was cheered by all members of the Exchange and later the hat was sent round for him.

The steady succession of Reuter stories, which came to London days and even weeks before those of any rival had no

effect on the newspapers, however, until three years later. Year after year, the *Times* turned down his offer to supply a service of news. Then, wearied of the rebuffs of this paper, whose lead he knew all the others would follow, Reuter decided to try elsewhere.

In 1858 he went to see James Grant, Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*, the organ of the Licensed Victuallers Association, and made him an offer of a free trial service for 14 days. "If at the end of that period you are not convinced that my service is better than anything you have ever enjoyed before, I will forget all about it and worry you no more", he said. That was the start of a great phase of expansion for Reuters.

In 1859 all Europe was wondering whether there would be war between France and Austria. Louis Napoleon had publicly warned that relations between the two countries had deteriorated. The crisis everyone knew, would come when Napoleon addressed the French Legislative Chamber on February 7. Reuter ordered his chief correspondent in Paris to obtain an advance copy of the Emperor's speech, a thing unheard of then. This was obtained on the condition that the correspondent did not open the envelope in which it was placed till the exact minute that Napoleon began to speak in the Chamber.

Reuter hired the exclusive use of the London-Paris telegraph line for one hour from the time when the speech would begin and, as Napoleon delivered his oration which was to mean war, Reuter was transcribing the messages in London and rushing them to the newspaper offices so that they could put out "specials". His messengers at that time used hansom cabs to speed up delivery.

Reuter was never complacent even though the speed with which his small organisation worked surpassed that of any of his rivals and he was constantly seeking new ideas to improve his service. When the American Civil War broke out he sent a special correspondent to New York. This man, James McLean, placed his messages in special canisters aboard the mail steamers, and

they were thrown overboard to Reuter's own tender which met the ships outside Southampton. But the telegraph companies themselves began to intercept ships from America off the Irish coast and send the news over their own wires from Cork to London. Reuter retaliated by building his own telegraph line from Cork to Crookhaven, on the extreme south-west of Ireland. From this spot his tender met the mailships well out in the Atlantic, picked up the canisters and brought the news back several hours ahead of his rivals.

The news of the assassination of President Lincoln gave Reuter a world scoop. In common with all the other correspondents in New York, McLean got the news from Washington too late to catch the mailship at the Wharf. While the others reconciled themselves to waiting for the next ship, McLean hired a tug, chased the mailship which had left some hours earlier and threw his message aboard.

From the organisation of a European and American news service Reuter soon turned to opening up the flow of news to and from the British Empire. A young man of 22, Henry Collins, was sent to India to set up offices in the Far East. Reuter had laid his own cable, in collaboration with the Prussian Government, between Lowestoft and Norderney, and thus had a direct link between Britain and India by way of Russia and Persia. Young Collins opened office after office and by 1872 there was a Reuter office in the most important business centres between Egypt and Japan.

There was still no direct connection with Australia. The news from the Commonwealth was picked up from mailships off Point de Galle, raced to Colombo, and cabled to London. In 1873 the cable link with Australia was completed and for a long time Reuters was almost the only news link between Australia and the rest of the world.

The Boer War and the siege of Mafeking gave the agency the chance to pull off another world scoop as, indeed, the agency has accomplished with nearly

every succeeding war, including the last. Reuter's correspondent in Pretoria was given the news of the relief of Mafeking because the Boers thought he would never be able to get the news out of the country. But the correspondent persuaded, an engine driver of a train to Laurence Marques to take his message there and telegraph it to London. The next day in the House of Commons the Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, answering a question, said: "No final confirmation has been received by the Government, but I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of Reuter's information."

Reuters continued to expand and flourish as communications throughout the world improved. Baron Julius de Reuter died on February 25, 1899, after building up a news agency with a tradition of service which has survived throughout the century of its life. He was succeeded by his son, Herbert, who committed suicide in 1915 following the death of his wife. Mr. Roderick Jones, South African representative of Reuters, was his successor.

In 1926 the Press Association, the British home news agency, bought the majority of the shares and when Sir Roderick Jones retired in 1941, the Newspaper Proprietors Association, which represents the London newspapers, bought half the shares to make Reuters the property of the whole British Press.

Reuters was once faced with the fatal threat of nationalisation. It fought off that danger and in 1941, a Trust Deed was entered which ensures that Reuters can never pass into the hands of any one group of newspapers or of any single interest or faction, and guarantees its complete independence of any Government. The Deed proclaims: "No effort shall be spared to expand, develop, and adapt the business of Reuters in order to maintain in every event its position as the leading world news agency."

With the end of the last war Reuters came to the most significant development in its history. On December 26, 1946, the first stage in achieving the objective

of a co-operative news agency on an international basis was reached when the Australian Associated Press and the New Zealand Associated Press were taken into ownership of Reuters. The next step was taken when the Indian newspapers on February 1, 1949, after long negotiations became the owners of the same number of shares in Reuters as are held by the Australian Associated Press.

There is no other way in which a reliable news service can be ensured than by the selling of news in open competition. This has been stressed by Sir Christopher Chancellor, who directs the operations of Reuters from the huge Portland stone headquarters, No. 85, Fleet Street. "If news is paid for at the sending instead of the receiving end, you at once have to look for the motives," says Sir Christopher. "This mundane and very simple fact—who pays for the news—is very important in considering the distinction between news and propaganda."

NONE SO BLIND

By CARL BINGER

By Guessing right I won the prize,
A pair of electronic eyes,
They handed me, amid the cheers,
One set of supersonic ears.
What luck, to contemplate realities
With these miraculous modalities:
But now the sun's rays deafen me,
Familiar things have ceased to be,
My best girl looks like fire-flies,
Spaced far apart and over size.
I play at blindman's buff with atoms
And spend my fateful hour on datums,
Describing microcosmic articles
Amid the aggregate of particles,
That limit space, in terms of time,
Like thoughts contained within a rhyme.
Oh, give me back my eyes again
And give me my imperfect ears,
That I may know the hearts of men
And still their everlasting fears.

—The Saturday Review.

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY

By Mr. MICHAEL HERVEY

THERE were very few of the villagers who sympathised with Mr. Arnold Porger when he was held up and his store was robbed by a masked bandit. He was by no means popular in the neighbourhood, partly because he was extremely mean, but mostly because he had a most annoying habit of boasting on every conceivable opportunity—at embroidering the truth he was an expert needlewoman!

Shooting a line is all very well as a prelude to selling one; but Arnold carried his boasting outside the orbit of his dry goods store. You had but to open your mouth and he would automatically go one better. If you should happen to mention in the bar that one of your tomato plants had yielded a twenty pound crop, he would be sure to claim that one of his plants had yielded thirty, and was still going strong. Should you make a chance remark about the modest petrol consumption of your car, Arnold could be depended upon to go one better by announcing to all and sundry that his own car practically ran on air.

He was, of course, absolutely impossible when it came to fishing stories, and there were times when he was describing 'the one that got away' that he definitely insulted the intelligence of his reluctant listeners by claiming to have hooked monsters that would have put Isank Walton among the novice class. It was the same as regards to golf; he claimed to be able to get round the course in less time than it took the county champion to 'tee up'.

As can only be expected, he claimed to have the smartest dog in the neighbourhood. According to him it did everything but talk—but with such a master it would not have been able to get a word in edgeways.

"I've been offered thousands of pounds for him," he was apt to boast. Unfortunately for him the animal chose to add injury to insult by biting a piece from his most vulnerable part. Everybody, of course, was loud in their praises of

the poor cur after that, saying that the dog was indeed the smartest animal for miles around. They were loud in their condemnation when Arnold got rid of the poor animal.

When it came to discussing horses it naturally followed that Arnold should claim to have picked the winner of every notable race since the beginning of time. In line with his habitual meanness, he would never part with the information before any of the big races. 'It would not be fair on the bookies' he would say blandly. He had made so many killings, he gave everybody to understand, that the bookmakers had at last had to refuse to handle any more of his bets.

On the subject of sport he was equally eloquent. As a boy he had broken the world's record for the standing jump, the hundred yards, pole-vaulting, and throwing the discus, among other things. It was only when 'Owd Bert' innocently asked him how he fared with the running jump that he sensed sarcasm in the air, and closed his mouth for at least two minutes. He opened up again when boxing was being discussed. He would probably have been the world champion, when he was in his prime, were it not for the fact that he had always been an 'in between' weight, and deplored the idea of dieting, as he considered it was un-natural. Even so, he could give points to most of them who were in the fight game nowadays, to which we heartily agreed.

His children, he would have us believe, were following in his flat footsteps. They were without doubt the brightest boys in the school, but not at the ordinary subjects. Even their worst enemies had to admit that they were budding geniuses. His eldest boy was destined to become a great musician. Just to listen to him playing the piano was enough to bring tears to your eyes; on this his immediate neighbours heartily agreed. As for his other boy, all the signs pointed to him developing into a great painter. Some of the drawings he had made on the living-room wall-paper were definitely out of

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this world. Nobody chose to argue with him on this score, since Arnold's taste in wall-paper was atrocious, and any attempts to obliterate it could only be an improvement.

When it came to indoor games, he had no equal in his humble opinion. In card games like Poker, Pontoon, Banker, Monopoly, Brag, Newmarket and the rest, he had no equal, in his humble opinion. As for draughts, he could beat anybody and everybody with his hands tied behind his back. Curiously enough, should anyone invite him to a game of cards or chess, he usually managed to have some excuse ready.

He naturally boasted of the amount of money he was taking down at the store, with the result that a certain graduate from Borstal decided that it was high time that Mr. Arnold Porger was relieved of some of his monetary burden.

It was Saturday night, and Mr. Porger had just closed the shop, and was busy counting his takings when a knock came on the door.

"I'm closed" he called out. "Can't you read the sign?"

"There's been an accident!" exclaimed the caller. "I must use your telephone to call the police ambulance!"

Arnold had no alternative but to open the door in the circumstances. He rather prided himself that his was the only shop around these parts that boasted a 'phone.

The next moment he found himself looking into the muzzle of an automatic.

"Keep your mouth shut and you won't get hurt!" grated the masked intruder.

Arnold wisely kept his mouth closed, until his jaw gaped at the sight of the stranger emptying the till. "There was over a hundred pounds in there!" he groaned inwardly.

The bandit propelled Arnold into the shop parlour and hastily locked the door before departing. Poor Arnold shouted himself hoarse over the week-end, but it was not until the following Monday morning

that someone thought of breaking into the shop to find out what had happened to him.

Arnold exaggerated his condition, saying that he was almost dying, as he had fought the six bandits tooth and claw before going down. The gangsters had got away with over two hundred pounds, he added, once more adding to the figure by second nature.

A few days in bed saw him as bad as new again, and for once he had a willing audience at the 'George and Dragon.' He told the story of his hold-up scores of times, and with each telling the number of bandits increased, as did the amount stolen.

His business showed a decided improvement during the week, as all the people who didn't know the story flocked into his shop to find out the details at first hand.

Saturday proved to be a record day, and as Arnold went to put up the shutters of his shop, he was almost inclined to forgive the dastardly blow that Fate had dealt him the previous Saturday, feeling that she had done much to redeem herself in the meantime.

He was fated to change his mind shortly afterwards, for on closing the shop door he discovered that he was not alone. It was the masked bandit again.

"Oh no!" he groaned, "Not again!"

"You've been telling everybody I got away with just over £200," snarled the bandit, "I wouldn't want anybody to think you a liar, so I've come for the difference!"

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 600 words.

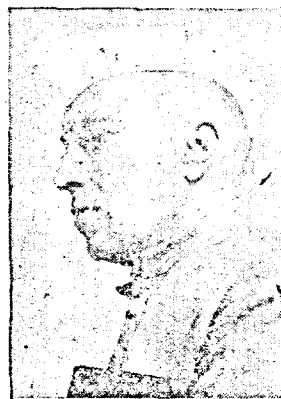
All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

Nehru's Report on Congress in Power

A report by Prime Minister Nehru to the A.I.C.C. on the achievements and failings of the Government and those of the Congress organisation was released to the press on July 7. The report gives a general review of the economic condition in the country and the steps taken by Government to improve the standard of living. It also briefly surveys India's foreign policy, the objectives of Government and the Congress in respect of many problems facing the country. It is the main basis of the Congress election manifesto which was discussed by the Working Committee as well as the A.I.C.C. during its three-day session at Bangalore last month. The main points in the report are summarised and presented as under.—ED I. R.

ECONOMIC Condition: It has become clear that it is of vital importance to keep prices down and any lapse on our part in this matter leads to serious consequences.

Advocating a fixed economy the report says: A policy of pure "laissez faire" is not feasible and must, therefore, be rejected.



Population: We have to think of the tremendous growth of population and the necessity for what is called family planning. From being a fad of some individuals in India, this has become one of the important issues before the country and it seems clear that the State must encourage this family planning or birth control.

Idea of Secular State: I am laying stress on this because there has been some flabbiness in this matter even in Congress circles. I feel that on this subject there can be no compromise of any kind. Unfortunately, there are some communal groups in the country which

challenge this secular aspect of the State and which nourish narrow and reactionary ideals. It is necessary for us, therefore, to be perfectly clear on this issue and to be prepared to stand or fall by it. As a consequence we have to give special care to all our minorities, such as Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. This fact has always to be remembered and in the forthcoming elections it should, more especially, be borne in mind.

Planning: We cannot go beyond our resources and, therefore, we must know exactly what our resources are and how best to apply them. A Government may be and should be idealistic in its approach, but its idealism will fail if it is not based on realities.

We have felt that there is still an honourable place for private enterprise. But if we have any national plan, as we must, then the private sector must accept the objective of that plan and fit into it. Indeed, both the public and private sectors must function, more or less, as a single whole, in the interests of that plan and serve the same social ends.

Administrative Services: We have had able and devoted service from a large number of the old civil servants and I am sure that none of them ever worked quite so hard as they have done in recent years. I think, however, that this whole question of administrative machinery has to be considered afresh from the point of view of the general plan that the country may adopt. The present rules governing Government servants make it difficult to distinguish much between the efficient and the inefficient, the good worker and the bad, the man of integrity and the man whose integrity is in doubt. It is difficult

to measure efficiency in terms of Government rules; it is still more difficult to get proof of lack of integrity. These rules must be changed so that even the reputation for a lack of integrity should be enough to prevent an officer from holding any position of responsibility or influence. At the same time, it is due to our officers to protect them from unfair attacks.

Foreign Policy: We have endeavoured in our own small way to throw our weight on the side of peace and to keep ourselves out of military and like commitments. Naturally, such a policy is often criticised. There has been, however, all over the world, a basic appreciation of our sincerity in this matter as also of the soundness of our policy, even though it may not fall in line with the wishes of many others.

India and the Commonwealth: This association should continue.

Partition of India: In INDIA there are some people who in their unwisdom and lack of vision represent the communal policy of Pakistan in reverse. They have even stated that they want to put an end to partition. This is the height of folly.

We desire no ending of the partition, for that can only bring infinite trouble to all concerned. This has been repeatedly stated and must be clearly affirmed again, so that there remains no shadow of doubt about it.

Elections: The coming elections are a test for us, not merely in the winning of seats but in something which is of far greater importance. Are we to function as the ordinary run of politicians whose sole aim is somehow to win an election or as votaries of a cause, for whom our principles and objectives are more important than seats in a Legislative Assembly or Parliament? I hope that in the choosing of candidates great care will be exercised in selecting men and women of integrity, who, by their past record, have shown that they believe in and act up to the principles we proclaim.

Our choice should not be restricted to a narrow circle or group but should extend to any who fulfil the qualifications laid down. In particular, we have to take special care that an adequate number of candidates of minority communities, as well as from women, are chosen.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STORY OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL: (5sh.) and PORTRAIT OF S. ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL: (15sh.) Both by G. H. Cook. ENJOYING BOOKS: By Geoffrey Trease (7sh. 6d.); CAME THE DAWN: By Cecil M. Hepworth (16sh.); A WANDERER IN THE WEST COUNTRY: By E. W. Martin (15sh.) (Phoenix House Ltd., 38, William IV Street, Charing Cross, London).

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN. By H. R. Bhatia, M.A. New Hindustan Publications. 9A-92 W. E. A. Karol Bagh, Delhi.

SCIENCE OF PALMISTRY. By Edward Heron-Allen. Published by Susil Gupta (India) Ltd. 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

WORK, WEALTH AND WAGES. By Ernest F. Row and P. C. Wren, K. & J. Cooper, Bombay.

INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS AND POLITICS. By S. K. Lahiri & B. N. Banerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co. Ltd., 2, College Square, Calcutta.

THE WORLD YEAR-BOOK. (1951). By Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani, Malhotra Brothers, 60, Daryaganj, Delhi.

A STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMICS. By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, University of Calcutta.

MATERIALS ON THE TRIAL OF THE FORMER SERVICEMEN OF THE JAPANESE ARMY. People's Publishing House, Raj Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

INDIA TODAY. By R. Palme Dutt, People's Publishing House, Bombay.

ACROSS THE MAP OF U.S.S.R. People's Publishing House, Bombay.

AN OUTLINE OF SHIVAGNANABODHAM. By S. Shiva-padasundaram B.A. (Retd.) Principal, Victoria College, (Printed at the Saiva Prakasa Press) Jaffna

PAKISTAN PUTS THE CLOCK BACK. By Asit Mukerjee Ph. D. (Lond.) Uttarayan Ltd. 170, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 6.

THE PROBLEM OF TIBET. By A. C. Banerjee, Uttarayan Ltd. Calcutta.

RIDDLES AND IRONIES IN OUR NEW CONSTITUTION. By Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, Uttarayan, Ltd., Calcutta.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE MAKING. By G. V. Karlekar, Uttarayan Ltd. Calcutta.

GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By J. C. Kunnappa, Vora & Co., Publishers Bombay 2.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Indo-Pak Relations

It was Hitler's habit to shout in season and out of season that Germany was being encircled and that the enemies were planning to cross the Rhine. The shout became more insistent and hysterical as he himself was giving his marching orders to outrage Poland or Czechoslovakia. We have a similar exhibition of frenzy in Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's S.O.S. to all and sundry "in this part of the world and that". He complains of troop concentrations on this side of the border which he says is a grave threat to Pakistan's security. Why? It is common knowledge that while India has actually reduced her armed forces Pakistan has been adding to her defence forces feverishly and what is worse, there has been "a continuous, intensive and vicious propaganda for war in Pakistan" for many months past. Hardly a day goes by when the Pak newspapers do not talk about or demand war against India. Strangely enough responsible leaders of Pakistan including Ministers who discuss problems of peace and rehabilitation in periodical conferences in Delhi and Karachi—they too talk of war and preparation for a *jihad*. Recently there have been hundreds of cease-fire violations in Kashmir area—violations provocative enough for a showdown. The Government of India have gone on repeatedly warning the Government of Pakistan, and more than once brought these outrages to the notice of U.N. authorities. And yet the violations have increased in number as in intensity. The Prime Minister of India has therefore done well to back his warning with precautionary measures so as to bring the seriousness of the situation home to the aggressors. In this Mr. Nehru has acted perfectly in conformity with the demands of the situation. And whatever differences there may be among certain groups with regard to the Prime Minister's policy in other matters there is complete unanimity in their support to the Nehru Government in this regard. Mr. Nehru gives the only reply that is possible when he declares:

My Government would have been failing in its duty if it did not take adequate measures to meet this grave situation. We are taking all such measures. On no account will India attack Pakistan. But if Pakistan indulges in any aggression on India in any part of her territory, this will be met adequately.

The strangest part of the business is that Pakistan is actually getting expert advice from high ranking retired military officers from Britain. In the face of all this Mr. Liaquat's allegations against India is unadulterated blackmail and is obviously aimed at covering up the concentration of her own forces in the Kashmir area in close co-ordination with the propaganda build-up for a war against India.

"It ill becomes the Prime Minister of Pakistan to talk of neighbourly relations, or of peace, when his Government and his Ministers, and his newspapers, and many of his people are continually talking of war, and preparing for it," says Mr. Nehru who, in a telegram to Mr. Liaquat Ali, earnestly urges him to stop the propaganda for *Jihad* and war against India in Pakistan. This, he says, "will help more than anything else in improving the relations between our two countries."

It would appear that Mr. Liaquat Ali has timed his frenzied appeal to the nations to synchronise with the visit of the United Nations representative Dr. Graham to the scene of dispute. Will Dr. Graham see through the game of stirring up trouble and chaos in Kashmir? It is possible that he may form an opinion just the opposite of what is intended by the trouble makers. But experience belies the hope. The same U.N. has, by some tortuous reasoning, placed the aggressor on a level with the accuser, and we have the funny—if it is not so tragical—spectacle of the accuser turned accused! What a contrast between the U.N. attitude to Korea where in 24 hours U.S. took a decision for prompt action and Kashmir where even when the guilt is proved the aggressor is still at large warming in the sunshine of interested patrons!

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HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The A. I. C. C. Lead

For months past the Bangalore Session of the A. I. C. C. was looked forward to for a definite lead to the Congress and the country both of which have been passing through a series of crises from within and without. How to avoid further disintegration in the Congress and bring it back to the strength and purity of purpose that gave it its power to fight for independence and win it in the end? One phase of its historic struggle is over—that of wresting freedom from foreign rule. How to vitalise it to complete the more important task of freeing the people from social and economic serfdom? Is the work of the Congress finished with the first phase? The Prime Minister and leading men of the Congress are definitely of opinion that the real work of the Congress is yet ahead—and that given goodwill it can yet accomplish the second phase with equal competence.

The Prime Minister's Report on the State of the Nation published appropriately on the eve of the Bangalore Session is a powerful plea for action and a pointer to the way this can be done. It is a plea for the continuance of that unity and spirit of sacrifice that inspired it in the days before Aug. 1947. With a detachment worthy of an elder statesman the Prime Minister urged the case for the Congress in words of unmistakable candour and earnestness. We admire the fine tone and temper of that inspiring document, its moderation, its sense of realism, its frank recognition of the gap between promise and performance, and only wish that the Kidwais and Kripalanis, however genuine their doubts and difficulties, may yet ponder over this sober and reasoned plea and clasp the hands outstretched in friendliness and faith, unshaken by the passing clouds of discord and dissension in the ranks. In unity lies our strength.

It was therefore in the fitness of things that the A.I.C.C. should unanimously pass at its secret Session the new unity resolution sponsored by the Working Committee affirming that Congress was for all those who subscribed to its ideals and inviting those who had left it to come back to its fold.

The resolution, which was moved by Mr. Rajagopalachari and supported by Pandit Pant, was carried without discussion, the original "unity" resolution of the 29 A.-I.C.C. members having been withdrawn by its movers earlier.

As has been pointed out by more than one press correspondent:

The decision to consider all aspects of the unity issue at a secret session provided opportunity for a heart-to-heart discussion which helped cleanse the atmosphere and secure a new approach to the problem.

The tone of the Working Committee's resolution and the general spirit of the debate shows there was a general desire to let bygones be bygones and to set to work determinedly to make the Congress strong, united and disciplined.

In a talk with Pressmen, Mr. Mohanlal Gautam, General Secretary, said: "People who expected some kind of disintegration or disruption in the Congress will be sorely disappointed." Actually, says a report in the *Hindustan Times*,

the six-day discussions in the A.-I.C.C. and their actual outcome embodied in the unity resolution and withdrawal of the dissentient notion has strengthened the cause of unity and shown that disruptionist tactics cannot succeed.

The general feeling among members is represented by Mr. Gautam's statement:

We have necessary strength to hold together and the Congress continues to be powerful enough to lead the country.

The Session, according to observers in close touch with the moving spirits of the Congress, was a complete success in two ways; Ideologically it has been helpful in placing before the country in a simple, modest and at the same time impressive form the principles and ideals for which the Congress stands and the new social and economic order for which it works.

It is felt if the proposed election campaign proceeds in this spirit it will have an invigorating effect on the country. Organizationally the stand which the A.-I.C.C. has taken both in dealing with the unity issue and in strengthening organizational integrity and efficiency is bound to prove helpful if all ranks in the Congress respond to it in the right spirit.

The resolution regarding selection of candidates—with its emphasis on integrity and suitability is a pointer to the judicious spirit of compromise and practicality pervading the session.

The election manifesto has laid down, in a short compass, many of these present objectives. All those who agree with the general aim of the Congress as well as these objectives, should find a welcome place within its ranks. The critical situation in the world as well as in the country demands vision and the widest co-operation for the solution of our problems. The Congress invites this co-operation and would welcome all those who wish to co-operate in the great task ahead including old members who have left it.

The Congress does not approve of the formation of groups within its fold as this would impair the strength and efficiency of the organization. . . .

Kidwai and Jain

Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Communications Minister and Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, Minister of State for Rehabilitation, have withdrawn their resignations from the Cabinet. In a joint statement issued on July 21, they said that

"in response to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru's request in the interest of the broad national policies with which we are in agreement, we have accepted the leader's advice to function as Ministers."

Announcing their withdrawal the Prime Minister himself issued the following Press statement:

Sri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Sri Ajit Prasad Jain have sent me their resignations from the Government. They have made it clear that these resignations are not due to any difference in regard to policy but are rather a consequence of other steps that they have taken. Those other steps can be considered separately. I received their offer to resign with regret, because I have valued their work in Government and I was, therefore, reluctant to accept those resignations, more especially at the present juncture. I requested them, therefore, to withdraw their resignations and I am glad to say that they have accepted my advice.

The statements issued by every one concerned in this sorry business make it clear that there was no question of principle or policy involved in the resignations; and the statements explaining the withdrawal of the resignations make it equally clear that none of the problems raised by their resignations has been solved or even squarely faced. The attempt to distinguish the Government from the Congress or the Prime Minister from the Government is a piece of casuistry too difficult to swallow. Only the other day Mr. Nehru told the A.I.C.C. that his Government was in office only by virtue of the confidence reposed in him by the

Congress. It won't do for Mr. Kidwai, therefore, to tell the world that

it was for the Prime Minister to face any situation that might arise in the Congress by allowing him to continue in the Cabinet in spite of his resignation from the Congress.

In the circumstances therefore one cannot but endorse the forthright observations of the *Hindu* that, however valuable Mr. Kidwai's contributions to the Congress or the Government may be, no political party can afford the luxury of divided counsels on the eve of a general election.

And from the point of view of the larger interests of the country, the spectacle of a widening gulf between the premier political party and the Government which rules the country in its name must be deplored, as calculated to result in all round demoralisation.

Pétain

One of the most tragic figures in history. Marshal Pétain, Victor of Verdun, and once hero of France, died on the lonely Ile d'Yeu, aged 95, on July 23. More than once he was given up for dead and he fell so frequently unconscious that death was expected any moment.

Pétain who lived through three wars against Germany will probably remain the most controversial figure in modern French history. He attained the highest honours his country could give, and died condemned by his countrymen.

Pétain was convicted in 1945, by a Special French High Court of treason for his conduct as head of the Vichy Government which operated hand in glove with the Nazis. The proud old Marshal served out his life sentence in the 19th century fortress on the isle of Yeu, shorn of all privileges and powers. But he never complained.

Mr. K. S. Venkataramani

Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, the well known South Indian writer, was presented with a purse as a token of the love and esteem of his friends and admirers, on the occasion of his *shastibadapoorthi*, at a public meeting in Madras. Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice, who presided over the function, paid a well merited tribute to Mr. Venkataramani's scholarship.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE UPANISHADS. Translated with introduction and Notes by Swami Nikhilananda. Phoenix House Ltd., William IV St. Charing Cross, London.

This is a new translation of four Upanishads: Katha, Isa, Kena, and Mundaka which contain the essence of the Vedic wisdom. The Upanishads—also called the Vedānta—the end of the Veda—represent the free and bold attempts of the ancient seers to seek out the truth without thought of system and divested of the rituals invariably intermingled with the Vedic mantras. As such they appeal to the intellectuals of different religious persuasion. Despite the variety of authorship and the period of time covered there is in them a unity of purpose and a vivid sense of spiritual experience—as they are the record of direct spiritual experience of Vedic Rishis. Shorn of theological dogmas and ceremonial piety they have a universal appeal to the cultivated mind dealing as they do with the great and never-ending problems of life and death and the immortality of the soul and the individuality of the Godhead.

Various versions of the Upanishads have appeared—some by Western savants and some by Indian scholars. The works of Hindu scholars are too recondite and baffling with technical words while Western interpreters who have subjected the teachings to historical and critical methods naturally lack the warmth and glow of spiritual illumination.

Swami Nikhilananda's version is both literal and graceful instinct with the spirit of the original. His two introductory chapters deal extensively with the historical background, the metaphysics and psychology of the Upanishads while his copious notes and explanations are based on the well-known commentaries of Sankara the great eighth century philosopher and mystic whose exposition is still the most luminous and profound interpretation of a most obtruse subject.

This is a book of books for the scholar in search of ancient wisdom.

THE TWO WORLDS. By S. N. Agarwal, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 8-12.

Principal Agarwal is a well-known student and interpreter of Gandhi, and his impressions of the countries he visited were read with evident interest as they appeared in our periodicals from time to time. The *Indian Review* itself has published more than one of the Principal's thoughtful and shrewd observations of men and things. The presentation of these chapters in book form was not only not unexpected but eagerly awaited by the readers.

Principal Agarwal visited fifteen countries in all during his world tour in the summer of 1949. The purpose of the tour was not merely to study the latest trends in education abroad but to acquaint the peoples of the respective countries with the literature and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. The Principal discusses the two worlds at continual war—the world of Capitalism led by U. S. A. and the world of Communism dominated by U.S.S.R. There is continual struggle between the two ideologies which threatens to engulf the world in mortal combat the end of which will be utter ruin and disaster to mankind. If humanity should be saved from the clutches of the catastrophic combat there is only one way according to Principal Agarwal and that is the way of Gandhi. For Gandhism, according to him, represents the best elements of Capitalism and Communism and is the only way of ultimate peace and security for the world.

The chapters recording interviews with Einstein and Pearl Buck and Harold Laski and John Dewey are deeply interesting in the context of world trends.

In the nature of the case a book of this kind covering such a large field in so few pages can hardly be anything but sketchy; but all the same it is a thought-provoking book which must be widely read not less for its ideas than for its entertainment—as a travel book.

READINGS FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE
Macmillan & Co. Ltd., Madras.

The book is designed to meet the needs of High School students in India for non-detailed study. The extracts are therefore selected with a view to interest young people; they deal with things occurring in ordinary life and are excellent examples of sound, straight-forward, living English. Stories of life and adventure, descriptions of men and things, vigorous argument and expositions—different styles of prose are presented to the young student for a course of rapid reading. Each lesson is prefixed with an appropriate introductory note on the life and work of the respective author and ends with brief textual notes on the more unusual words and phrases requiring explanation.

GARLAND OF LETTERS: VARNAMALA. By
Sir John Woodroffe. Ganesh & Co.
Madras Ltd., Madras 17.

Few Europeans have had a better understanding or deeper knowledge of Hindu religion or Sanskrit lore than Sir John Woodroffe, more familiarly known as Arthur Avalon, author of some of the most recondite works in Hindu theology. To him, as to Max Muller and Paul Deussen the West owes what little it knows of the profound truths of the Hindu scripture and the significance of the shakti cult. By his faithful translation of some of the difficult texts of the Hindu religion, the insight with which he interpreted the rituals and ceremonies of the Brahmanas, and his powerful vindication of their truths and exposition of their symbols, Sir John has earned for himself an enduring place in Indology and Oriental scholarship. Messrs Ganesh & Co., who some two decades ago brought the great savant's work to the notice of the public, have now done an excellent piece of work in resurrecting books which the world of culture would not willingly let die. Thanks to their enterprise Sir John's works are again available in treatises of admirable print and get up.

In Varnamala or the Garland of letters Sir John offers his studies in the Mantrashastra, a species of classics, difficult to understand and more difficult to expound. Sir John brings to this task not only learning and lucidity but a sense of reverence and devotion born of deep wisdom and piety. At the very outset he meets the ignoramus with bracing common sense and knocks the vanity out of the scoffer.

It is natural, he says, given this difficulty and mystery which surrounds the subject that strangers to India should have failed to understand Mantra. They need not, however, have then (as some have done) jumped to the conclusion that it was "meaningless superstition." This is the familiar argument of the lower mind which says "what I cannot understand can have no sense at all." Mantra is, it is true, meaningless to those who do not know its meaning. But there are others who do, and to them it is not 'Superstition.'

Sir John belongs to the latter class and he rightly pities those English-educated Indians who are as uninstructed in the matter as that rather common type of western who, in his ignorance and vanity, describes Mantra as "meaningless Jabber."

Sir John insists on the greatness of the Mantra he expounds and he expounds the mysteries of the shastra with profound conviction and in a style as simple as it is graceful.

LONDON LIVES ON: By R. G. Burnett and
E. W. Tattersall, Phoenix House Ltd.
38, Williams St., Charing Cross, London.

Now that pilgrims from far across the seas are flocking to London for the Festival of Britain, this pictorial record of the great landmarks of London, rich with historic association through the centuries, must prove of exceptional interest as a friendly and helpful guide to tourists. With a hundred illustrations of Cathedrals and Colleges and public buildings, not to speak of pictures of houses of poets and authors and statesmen and other celebrities accompanied by brief and readable accounts of their importance in the life and history of this city of cities, this timely publication must have a wide appeal. It is a happy thought the publishers decided on a "Cheap edition" specially got up for the occasion.

QUINTENANCE OF GITANJALI: By C. C.
Chatterji. Nalanda Publications, Bombay,
Rs. 2.

Gitanjali in English is a great little book of psalms which surprised western critics as much by its novelty as by its wisdom and tenderness. Kindred spirits hailed the poet as a new star from the East. The English version which owes much to the poet's English friends like Yeats and A.E. was itself a free and not very faithful rendering of Bengali verses contained in three separate volumes and published at different times. Was the selection made at random or was there a design in the detached gems put in the frame work of a single volume? Whatever the intentions of the poet himself Prof. Chatterji who has read the English Gitanjali with loving care and is also familiar with the Bengali poems in the original, is struck with a definite plan and purpose in the new setting. He sees in the new setting "the unfoldment of a spiritual experience and the final attainment of a spiritual goal," and with the ardour and enthusiasm of a scholar-teacher, has set out to explain the sequence of ideas and experiences for the benefit of the less critical readers. In the ten sections of this book, Prof. Chatterji makes it plain that there is a definite purpose running thro' the whole book as he draws attention to the harmonious progression or continuity in the series of psalms which takes the reader from step to step. This is an admirable guide to the critical appreciation of Gitanjali.

EASTERN POETRY. Translated, compiled
and edited by Nagendranath Gupta,
Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, Pp. 48,
Price Re. 1-8.

This little book brings together the characteristic and precious specimens of Eastern poetry.

The prevailing note is religious and philosophical. Persian and Sikh notes mix appropriately with the Bhagavatam and other Hindu works. If the Story of Sibi represents the supreme example of self-sacrifice in a Hindu monarch, Hafiz sings beautifully about the transient quality of the world around us.

A DANCER PREPARES. By Sundari Shri-
dharani, Malhotra Brothers, 60 Darya-
gunj, Delhi.

This handsomely got up book is aptly described as A Primer of Rhythmic Exercises which lead to health, poise beauty and dance. These exercises are brilliantly described with appropriate illustrations—and there are 80 of them by Dinkar Kowshik. Folk dance and the place of dance in our schools and home are discussed in a pleasant and attractive style. A student of Uday Shankar and one who has studied in Tagore's Shantiniketan and as Director of the Triveni Art Centre in New Delhi the author is exceptionally qualified to teach and expound the theory and practice of the great art of dancing.

SEKHAR'S MADRAS CITY GUIDE. Editor
R. C. Sekhar. Publishers: Premier
Advertisers, 218, Mint Street, Madras 1.
Price Rs. 3.

This handy volume fulfils a badly felt need among the citizens of Madras and tourists on visit to the city. It contains several sections such as Almanac and General information; astrological predictions for the various zodiacal turns for 1951-52, information relating to rent, air, bus and tram transport, civic administration, Educational institutions etc. Film fans will find the section giving the addresses of the actors and actresses in the city, very useful.

SYSTEMATIC INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. By
Niranjan Singh and Jagindar Singh,
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmir Gate, Delhi.

That this book has already run through twelve editions is evidence of its popularity and usefulness. Primarily intended as a text book for higher, secondary and intermediate students in our universities the present edition has been revised and enlarged with suitable changes suggested by experience in class room. In its improved form the book is bound to be more popular among students.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

July 1. Peking and North Korea agree to cease fire and truce talks.

—15 nations Colombo plan starts operation.

July 2. C. R. opens New College in Madras.

—Persia's Prime Minister rejects U.S. compromise to end deadlock.

July 3. India protests to U.N. Council against Pakistan raids on Kashmir.

July 4. Dr. Graham, U.N. representative for Kashmir, meets Pandit Nehru.

—Socialist manifesto published.

July 5. World Court gives interim injunction in oil dispute.

—Nehru appeals to Railwaymen to give up strike.

July 6. General Council of A.I.R.F. at Kharagpur decides to launch general strike from Aug. 27—6 a.m.

July 7. Persian Government rejects Hague Court ruling.

—Five year treaty of friendship between Burma and India signed at Rangoon.

July 8. Dr. Graham, U.N. representative in Srinagar.

July 9. Five year Plan prepared by Planning Commission published.

July 10. Truman offers Harriman's mediation in Iran.

—Korea truce talks open at Kaesong.

July 11. Reuter's Centenary celebrations in London.

—Congress Working Committee meets at Bangalore.

—President issues ordinance banning strikes.

July 12. Truce talks halted, Reds objecting to admission of newsmen.

—Anglo U. S. draft of Peace pact with Japan published.

July 13. A. I. C. C. meets at Bangalore, Sri Purnshotamdas Tandon presiding.

July 14. Kaesong truce talks reopen.

—A.I.C.C. adopts election manifesto.

July 15. Mr. Liaqat Ali protests against Indian troops being massed on Pak border.

—Harriman in Teheran for oil talks.

July 16. Nehru replies to Liaqat's charges.

—King Leopold of Belgium abdicates in favour of his son.

July 17. Kidwai and Jain resign from Central Cabinet.

—Harriman promises U.S. economic aid to Iran.

July 18. Kidwai and Jain resign Congress membership.

—New Bank Tribunal set up.

July 19. President Truman announces change in U.S. policy towards Spain.

July 20. King Abdullah of Jordan shot dead in old Jerusalem.

—U.S. invites Russia and Japan to Frisco Conference in September.

July 21. Government invites Railway leaders for talks.

—Kidwai and Jain withdraw resignation from Cabinet.

July 22. Harriman discusses with Massadique, Iran's Premier plans for settlement of oil dispute.

July 23. Ex-Marshall Philippe Petain dead at Ile d'Yeu, aged 95.

July 24. Lord Jowitt, Lord Chancellor, to be Britain's envoy to Teheran for oil negotiations.

—Nehru demands 'no war' assurance from Pakistan.

July 25. Kaesong talks resumed.

—President issues Ordinance amending Companies Act.

July 26. Liaqat Ali Khan invites Nehru to Karachi for talks: withdrawal of troops being a precondition.



READERS' DIGEST



FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR INDIA

The Planning Commission, appointed by the Government of India in March 1950 released on July 9 its first Five Year Plan to promote a "rapid rise in the standard of living of the people."

The "draft outline" of the Plan involves a total outlay of Rs. 1,793 crores on development initiated in the public sector. It aims to secure for the people a just, social political and economic order.

The Plan is divided into two parts. The first part involves an expenditure of Rs. 1,493 crores, and is expected to restore, more or less, the pre-war availability of essential consumer goods by the end of 1955-56, taking into account the expected increase in population over the period. The second part, involving an expenditure of Rs. 300 crores, seeks to ensure a somewhat higher rate of development during the next five years.

The Commission urges that the first part of the Plan should be implemented by the country at all costs.

"Planning in a democratic State," says the Commission, "is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of future development is a task of such magnitude and significance that it should embody the best thought of the country and reflect as fully as possible the impact of public opinion and the needs of the community."

The Commission emphasizes that the success of the Plan "will depend on the extent to which it enlists the association and co-operation of the people."

The Commission expresses the hope that the Plan in its final form "will come to be regarded as the field of endeavour within which every citizen can co-operate and offer his best for the common good."

The Commission has, in the first part of the Plan, fixed the following priorities:

(1) Completing of programmes in hand including rehabilitation of displaced persons;

(2) Increasing the production of food and raw materials over a relatively short period;

(3) Implementing schemes essential for developing material and technical resources and enlarging the scope for employment;

(4) Consolidating the progress already made in social services and providing for gradual expansion; and

(5) Providing for more adequate administrative and social services and a more rapid rate of development in the less developed States.

AIMS OF THE COLOMBO PLAN

15 nations officially started operating the six-year 1,838 million sterling Colombo Plan for the development of South and South-East Asia on July 1.

The plan born at the Commonwealth Conference in Colombo in January 1950, aims basically to: (1) increase land under cultivation by 13 million acres; (2) increase land under irrigation by the same extent; (3) raise food grain production by six million tons and (4) increase electric generating capacity by 1,100 thousand kilowatts.

The plan was originally outlined as a Commonwealth scheme but grew in scope. They are Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, New Zealand, Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, Indo-China, the Colonial territories of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, and Sarawak with Britain and the United States.

The original Commonwealth Consultative Committee has become the International Consultative Committee and meets periodically to examine progress. It is made up of ten representatives for all the Colonial territories and one for the International Bank.

Besides directly furthering agricultural and other forms of development, the plan aims at interchange of technical experts and provision of scholarships. This will enable representatives of under-developed countries of South and South-East Asia to go to centres abroad to learn how best to supply the resources of their own countries.

MAN AND MACHINE

Although machinery has for many years past occupied a dominant role in daily life—having become, indeed, the main prop of our present standard of living—the nature of the relationship between man and machine is only just beginning to receive serious attention, writes Dr. Trevor I. Williams, Deputy Editor of *Endeavour*.

Hitherto, much machinery has been designed without any detailed investigation of the needs of those who will have to work it; the human operator must get along as best he can. It is now recognized that especially as machinery becomes more and more complicated, the human element deserves much more serious attention.

The problem of relating man to machine is, however, not an easy one, for although we know a great deal about how machines work—for they are, after all no more than the creations of the human mind—we are still very ignorant about the working of the human minds which must control them.

In Britain, the great importance of this relationship has been widely recognised and an Ergonomics Research Society has been founded so that all those interested can pool their knowledge and discuss the problem jointly. Bodies especially interested in the formation of this society included the Medical Research Council, the National Institute of Medical Research, the Admiralty, the Army and the Royal Air Force.

The primary object of the new science of ergonomics is to collect the fundamental facts relating to the human element in the operation of machinery of all kinds so that improvements in operation and design need not be made by trial-and-error methods as at present but can be logically arrived at.

A recent meeting of the Society in Birmingham was an international event, delegates attending from as far afield as Denmark, Sweden and the United States. In their varied interests they represented anatomists, psychologists, engineers, physicists, architects, and industrial management.

REUTERS AND A. P. A.

The centenary of Reuters was celebrated on July 11.

Mr. Kent Cooper, Executive Director of the Associated Press of America, presented Reuters with an illuminated scroll from the Board of Directors of the A. P. A. on June 26.

The presentation was made at a lunch meeting of the Reuters Board of Directors, at which Mr. Cooper was the guest of honour. He was welcomed by Lord Rothermere, Chairman of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, who paid a tribute to Mr. Cooper's help in the development of the present Reuters organisation. "Since the present organisation was created, you have been one of the greatest friends we have had, and I believe that but for you, and the help you have so generously given us, we would not be in the position we now are in the world news agency sphere," Lord Rothermere said.

Mr. Cooper, in reply, said he knew that the friendship "between these two great news agencies" would be lasting. "We shall always enjoy good fellowship as organisations, but, in addition, we have a great and joint destiny in our service of news to the world" he said.

The illuminated scroll, a resolution adopted by the A. P.'s Board of Directors, said: "The Board of Directors of the Associated Press, on behalf of its members and staff, extends to Reuters, Ltd., a noble ally and an enduring friend, hearty congratulations and warmest greetings on the occasion of the Reuters centenary. Our two organisations are linked together by a bond of practical idealism in furthering an understanding between peoples and nations through the instrument of truthful and objective reporting. The firm relations between us stand as an inspiring example of what intelligent and forthright co-operation can accomplish."

"As I was going over the bridge the other day," said an Irishman, "I met Pat Hewins. 'Hewins,' says I, 'how are you?'"

"Pretty well, thank you, Donnelly," says he.

"'Donnelly?' says I, 'that's not my name.'"

"'Faith, then, no more is mine Hewins.'"

"So with that we looked at each other again, and sure enough it was nayther of us."

THE CHINESE SOLDIER

In the course of a long article in *Everybody's*, London, Rene Lielier gives an estimate of the Chinese soldier and his fighting qualities. The mainstay of the Chinese Red Army, he says, is still the ordinary 'ping' or soldier. Mostly he is tough, hard-working, uncomplaining, frugal and mostly loyal.

History calls the peasant, whose son he is, Old Hundred Names, and it is his sheep-like anonymity which makes the army's great blind strength.

He is usually between five feet four and five feet eight inches tall, between 17 and 30, mostly illiterate. It may be that he has not been a Communist long: at least one-third of the defeated Nationalist troops that have joined the Communist troops have joined the Communist ranks after some indoctrination à la Moscow. Mostly, the ping does not think, at least not about things which are supposed to be settled for him. He is told that Americans are in Korea as the successors of the Japanese imperialists and he believes it. He is shown that in fact Soviet Russia is China's only friend. He believes that too.

Not cruel by nature, the 'ping' thinks relatively little of human life: his own being no exception. Although the Geneva Convention, about mistreating prisoners is not in his book of rules, it is only rarely that he commits an atrocity. But in fighting, the 'ping' gives no quarter.

His equipment is simple: a rifle, it may be French and made in the 1890's or it may be the latest carbine or even a Russian or American sub-machine gun. Hand-grenades—home-made—are probably his favourite weapons. He can use a captured bazooka but cannot drive a captured jeep. He is a sharpshooter but no mechanic.

His quilted cotton uniform, khaki leggings and leather or skin sandals are of poor quality; nevertheless they are better than what he would be wearing if he were a civilian. It costs Mao Tse-tung's Government 200 dollars a year to keep one 'ping' in fighting trim while it costs Washington 10,000 dollars a year to keep a U.S. soldier on the go.

The Communist 'ping' carries 80 percent of his food and equipment with him. The rest goes in on occasional truck or on muleback. In Korea today, there is one motor vehicle for every 500 Chinese soldiers. In the U.S. troops, there are 1,000 jeeps and perhaps twice that number of trucks to every division.

The Communist 'ping' has far more prestige than his predecessors. His officer often takes his advice and at any 'criticism meeting' he may put forward his views on present operations. Political

commissars—of whom there is one in each company—encourage him to do so.

What of the tactics of this new Red Army? Its commanders, so their propaganda would have us believe, have taken for motto the advice of Sun Chu, a Chinese military analyst of the fifth century B. C. Sun Chu said: "When the enemy advances, we retreat. When he escapes, we harass. When he retreats we pursue. When he is tired, we attack."

On the face of it, it is not all quite as simple as that. From the recent Korean operations, it appears that the old Chinese game of bluffing one's way to success has been used quite often. Such was the Chinese retreat to the Yalu river in November.

In larger movements, they have developed a way of fighting which is reminiscent of the 'steamroller tactics' of the Czarist armies during the first world war. Chu Teh's commanders call it 'jen hai,' the human sea.

It means that Red assault waves just keep coming regardless of casualties. Many times in Korea, U. N. commanders have been baffled by this advance of Communist troops despite their enormous losses. That these tactics are unoriginal cannot be doubted.

That China can afford them is also not a matter of doubt.

This, then, is China's new army: two and a half million men, well-drilled, drugged with propaganda, ready to die for a ruthless creed which yesterday ruled but a small portion of their countrymen.

Without the resources of modern industry behind them, they are fighting a full scale war against the forces of the West. Whether they will form the vanguard of a new Asian expansionism directed by Moscow remains to be seen. One fact cannot be doubted; they are potentially the most dangerous force continental Asia has seen since Genghis Khan.

VICIOUS ME

"What qualifications are required to make a successful card player?" asked Mrs. Bowling, casually.

"Well, it's hard to say," replied her husband, thoughtfully. "A man must be cool, calculating, crafty, cunning, and have a touch of meanness in his disposition."

"Oh, John!" exclaimed his wife. "Surely you wouldn't like to play cards with such horrid people!"

"That's all right," the husband answered proudly. "I nearly always win."

BAPU'S FORGOTTEN IDEALS

Analysing the causes of the disintegration of the Congress the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that Congress prestige has suffered because Congressmen have forgotten Gandhiji's ideals. It adds that

real unity in the organisation can be achieved not on the basis of re-division of loaves and fishes but by the revival of Bapu's forgotten ideals through canalisation of Congressmen's activities to the noble and stupendous task of national reconstruction.

To ascertain the source of the *malaise* one must go back across the years to the days when Gandhiji first initiated the independence movement.

As a matter of fact, it is a misnomer to call India's national resurgence by this limited connotation. In simple truth this movement embodied in it all the attributes of a full-scale revolution in the mind and body of the nation. Its most pronounced manifestation was no doubt in the political shape. It turned to be so for the simple reason that liberation from the foreign yoke formed the most immediate objective before the rank and file who participated in the great endeavour. Not so was the case with its author. Not that political emancipation was less dear to him. On the contrary, it was his earnest conviction that national uplift without national independence had no meaning at all. Nevertheless, Gandhiji did not permit his vision to be obscured by this particular consideration.

Endowed with rare wisdom and foresight Gandhiji imported a social and economic content into the revolution he had fathered.

He refused to believe in a freedom that failed to bring in its wake social and economic emancipation for the masses. To quote a few instances, his satyagraha undertakings in Champaran, Katra, Bersad and Bardoli were all connected with purely economic issues. His constructive programme centred *Charkha* and *Khadi* was motivated by his concern for the economic betterment of the masses. Even the new system of basic education Gandhiji devised had an economic basis. He had also no use for that freedom which left the underdog where he was. The Harijan movement and advancement of the Indian womanhood thus became the cornerstones of his programme. In a word, political liberation was subordinated to moral and spiritual regeneration. This particular fact explains why even within an age of success Mahatmaji called off more than once the political part of his campaign.

Quite a large section of his adherents failed to follow the Mahatma in his comprehensive approach towards the national revolution. These men and women suffered and sacrificed nonetheless

and thus brought the advent of political freedom nearer.

When Independence came, they left the social and economic aspects of the revolution to take care of themselves. Many of those who formed the Government had no further aims than mere achievement of freedom. Gandhiji foresaw the danger and sought to avert it through his projected transformation of the Congress into a non-political organisation. A blue-print was prepared but the hand of the assassin prevented it from being put into operation. This, combined with Government's apathy towards constructive activities initiated by the Congress, resulted in their inanition and finally destruction. India's national revolution was left incomplete, her economy lopsided and the submerged sections of her people lay humiliated and down-trodden as before.

The consequences were simply catastrophic for the Congress as well as for the country.

Congressmen forgot their idealism and ran after pelf and power. They lost contact with the masses who were left to find for themselves or to be beguiled by other parties with tempting programmes. The bond of a common ideal is the most solid link that serves to keep partymen together. When the ideal is lost the only way to keep up a semblance of unity and coherence is through distribution of favour and patronage which the party in power had little difficulty to manage. This highly objectionable method opened the floodgates to countrywide corruption facilitated by the existence and faulty operation of controls. As could be expected in the circumstances, the have's and the have-not's among the beneficiaries fell out. Others who sincerely stuck steadfast to the Gandhian programme left the parent organisation in frustration and disgust. Disintegration followed decadence.

ABOLITION OF CUSTOMS BARRIERS

On the recommendation of the States Finances Enquiry Committee, all Customs barriers between what were formerly Indian States and Provinces, it is gathered, have been abolished, except in the case of Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Hyderabad, which continue to levy inter-State transit duties on goods brought into or sent out of their territories to the rest of India. These duties too will be abolished within five years from April 1950. The stages by which this will be achieved will be decided from time to time with reference, among other things, to the extent to which the State is able to replace the revenue lost by alternative sources. The Hyderabad Government, for example, are gradually reducing the rates of such taxes.

REFUGEES FROM E. PAKISTAN

Barring 25,000 persons, practically the entire population of 20,00,000 rural displaced persons from East Pakistan had been allotted land and given financial assistance for permanent resettlement, according to a P. T. I. correspondent.

As regards the urban displaced persons from West Pakistan totalling another 25,00,000 the spokesman said that accommodation provided or under construction would benefit 22,50,000. People living in evacuee houses amounted to 14.9 lakhs, 3.41 lakhs lived in houses newly-constructed by various Governments out of funds provided by the Centre. Houses actually under construction would accommodate 1,28,000 and developed plots allotted would benefit another 1,30,000. The construction programme for the current year 1951-52 sought to provide accommodation for 1,91,000.

Shops and business premises had been allotted to 61,000 parties. Small loans Rs. 5,000 each had been sanctioned for nearly 1.5 lakh persons, the sum involved being approximately Rs. 10 crores. In addition, nearly Rs. 5 crores had been sanctioned for over 5,000 persons by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration, which advanced loans above Rs. 5,000.

Jobs had been provided for nearly a lakh and fifty thousand persons. If their dependents were included, the beneficiaries would number nearly 6.5 lakhs.

Technical and vocational training had been imparted to about 40,000 persons. The Central Rehabilitation Ministry had agreed that another 50,000 should be trained by March 1953. Out of these, 20,000 persons were at present under training.

Widows, orphans and aged and infirm persons formed a difficult problem. The State had accepted liability for their care and maintenance and the education of the children. At present there were some 45,000 such persons being looked after in various homes etc.

Monthly maintenance allowances were also being paid to widows, unattached women and old and infirm persons who were dependent solely on income from urban immovable property in West Pakistan and had nobody to support them in India. Fifteen thousand persons in this category were receiving monthly payments totalling nearly Rs. 3 lakhs. Under the revised scheme sanctioned by the Government last month the total annual payment of maintenance allowances would reach the half-crore mark.

All these figures were for West Pakistan. The total expenditure on displaced persons from West and East Pakistan upto March 31, 1952 would be over Rs. 148 crores. The expenditure upto the end of 1950 was Rs. 73.2 crores. The revised estimates for 1950-51 totalled Rs. 89.46 crores while the budget for the current year was for Rs. 31.83 crores.

POPULATION OF THE WORLD

Mankind has increased by 825,700,000 during the past 50 years, the World Health Organisation announced at Geneva. The world population in 1900 is given as 1,551,700,000 as compared with 2,377,400,000 in 1949.

Of the 52 countries listed only Southern Ireland has registered a decrease. There the population has dropped from 3,200,000 to three million during the period.

The largest increase in the world has been in India and Pakistan whose total is given together. The population in these two countries has increased by 137,900,000 rising from 282,500,000 in 1900 to 420,400,000 in 1949.

The Soviet increase during the past half century is 74 million—from 126 to 200 millions—while the increase in the United States is 73,200,000—from 76 millions to 149,200,000. Britain's population has increased by twelve and a half million over the period and is listed in 1949 as 50 millions compared with 37,900,000 in 1900.

The largest world percentage increase was registered in Argentina where the population went up from 4,800,000 in 1900 to 16,800,000 in 1949—an increase of 251 per cent.

The W.H.O. statistics give the world population by Continents as: Africa 199.9 million—up 57.2 millions; Asia 1,253.5 millions—up 414.6 millions; Europe (except U.S.S.R.) 392.8 millions—up 103.9 millions; Oceania 12.4 millions—up 6.2 millions.

Among Commonwealth countries, Canada's population increased from 5.2 to 13.2 millions, Australia's from 3.8 to 7.9 millions, New Zealand from 800,000 to 1.9 millions, South Africa's from 4.7 to 12.1 millions, Ceylon's from 3.5 to 7.3 millions.

The total population in seven Commonwealth countries and Britain is given as 513.2 millions.

The W.H.O. statistics show that in the past 300 years the population of the world has grown from an estimated 515 millions in the year 1650 to 2,377.4 millions in 1949.

USE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE

The United States on June 6 pledged that in case of future aggression in the North Atlantic area, American forces in Europe could be used to support the United Nations. In a letter to M. Trygve Lie, Secretary General, the United States delegation stated:

The United States is maintaining elements of its national armed forces in Europe shortly to include the equivalent of six army divisions, and naval and air forces elements, in furtherance of the North Atlantic strategy and as a part of the efforts of the parties to the treaty for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

The statement added:

The treaty by its terms comes within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and the United States forces maintained in furtherance of the treaty could, in appropriate circumstances pursuant of the treaty and the Charter and in accordance with due constitutional process, participate in collective military measures to maintain or restore peace and security in the North Atlantic area in support of United Nations action.

American forces for fighting in Korea were listed as follows:

Infantry: Three army corps and one marine division with supporting elements.

Navy: One fast carrier task group, an amphibious force, reconnaissance and anti-submarine warfare units and supporting ships.

Air: One tactical air force, one bombardment command, and one combat cargo command.

The letter stated: The United States Government regards the maintenance of these forces as fulfilment at this time of the purpose of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

After termination of hostilities in Korea and after the United States armed forces now opposing aggression in Korea have been withdrawn, the extent to which the United States will maintain armed forces which could be made available for United Nations services will be reviewed.

The letter which was signed by Mr. Ernest Gross, United States Deputy delegate in the United Nations, concluded with these words:

The United States will continue to keep the matter under constant review in the light of changing circumstances and in furtherance of the policy of the United Nations to build up an effective collective security system.

NAI TALIM

The knowledge of exactly what *Nai Talim* is, is not widespread. A very brief and simple picture of it is given by Mr. G. Ramachandran in the course of an article in the *Aryan Path* for July. *Nai Talim* he says, is education in the widest sense.

It begins from the moment of conception and continues through childhood, boyhood or girlhood, manhood or womanhood to the moment of death. It is, therefore, no school-room affair. It is education throughout life; but it is education through life also. It is not book-centred but work-centred. Work is life and life is work. Where work ends life ends. In *Nai Talim* work is the raw material and learning the finished product. All learning is in and through work, therefore through life. The more one works the more one learns. No work—no education is the rule of *Nai Talim*. At one stroke it lifts the worker from drudgery to learning. It is therefore the liberation of the worker from within and upward through a natural process free from violence and hate.

It is of the essence of *Nai Talim* that those engaged in it children, students, workers and teachers, live together, work together and learn together in self-reliant, self-dependent, happy communities. This paves the way for a new social order. Therefore *Nai Talim* is education for life, a new life, a better, fuller happier life.

This education in and through work is a more revolutionary programme than anything in Marxism. When *Nai Talim* spreads, what happens? The toilers everywhere get education as a birthright. Education belongs to them. The gulf between manual and intellectual labour vanishes in a new synthesis in which manual and intellectual work grow from each other. It is the gulf between manual and intellectual work which, in the final analysis, will be seen to breed most of the conflicts in the world. The symbol of that gulf is money and its shadows are competition and greed.

Nai Talim is a profound co-operative system for the physical and mental growth of man.

When men are trained from childhood to work for all, then something will be born which is deeper than Socialism or Communism. Thus *Nai Talim* leads towards a fundamental change not only in external arrangements but also in the internal spirit and mind of society. And the key to it all is that education is all the time and for everybody through productive work, productive in terms of the needs of mankind everywhere.

MONEY DECIDED

"Was it a case of love at first sight?"

"No, second sight. The first time he saw her he didn't know she had money."

CHINA'S SUZERAINTY OVER TIBET

The *New York Times* sees "cause for anxiety" in the Chinese Communist-Tibet "accord" announced recently which will bring Communist garrisons to the very borders of India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

In an editorial titled "The Curtain Falls in Tibet," the newspaper sees the so-called agreement, which incorporates Tibet into the structure of Communist China, as having the "chief danger" of bringing the Communists "right down on India's border."

"The Russians have been planning airfields in Tibet," it states, "and can now go through with their plans in tranquility."

It points out that lack of gasoline and road transport difficulties make Tibet "a poor base for a land invasion of India," but adds that "it is equally true that Russia and China can now use Tibet as a base for reconnaissance, espionage and subversion against India, Kashmir and Nepal."

"The mere fact that the Communist wave has at last swept up to India is a psychological factor of considerable importance. Another buffer has disappeared, and when one thinks of the danger on the side to Iran—historically a buffer state linking India and the West—there is cause for anxiety over what has happened to Tibet."

U. S. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

A survey made by the National Council of Churches reveals that during the 1926-49 period the rate of increase in American church membership was greater by 21½ per cent. than population growth, says *Christian Century*. The survey indicates that church membership increased 51.5 per cent. while population growth was 30 per cent. It tabulated the membership of 54 religious bodies, all with memberships over 50,000. Combined these groups account for about 97 per cent. of church membership in the nation. Of the three major faiths, Protestantism gained 56 per cent. in membership, Catholicism 48.4 per cent. and Jewish congregations 22.5 per cent.

INDIA AND U.S.A.

The ultimate goals of India and the United States are the same, according to Mr. George C. McGhee, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern South Asian and African Affairs.

"Our differences with India," he told the Cincinnati Council of World Affairs, Cincinnati, Ohio, "appear to be much more a matter of tactics than of basic goals. In the achievement of these goals, India is relying chiefly on moral persuasion, we on collective security." He pointed out that, while India and the United States had "frankly differed" on the best methods of restoring peace in Korea, "the ultimate goals of India and the United States are the same."

Both Governments, Mr. McGhee said, are working to limit hostilities in the Far East. Both are endeavouring to find a basis for lasting peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Our problem is to agree on the best means of attaining these ends.

"Emphasizing Indo-American relations the official stated:

In the long run, our ability to work together with India in the achievement of common objectives will depend on the degree of our understanding of each other's international aims, even though they may differ, rather than on the achievement of an identity of views.

TRAM-CARS IN MOSCOW

Streamlined tram-cars, capable of 40 miles per hour and equipped with noise-reducing devices are among exhibits in a model exhibition in Moscow, writes "Sledge Hammer" in *People's Health* and adds:

The Madras Tramways should contact our Ambassador in Moscow Dr. Radhakrishnan to arrange to include a couple of our tram-cars in the "model exhibition." As examples of perfect junk, which can be divided into a thousand pieces in a few seconds, capable of four miles per hour and of producing the most hair-raising and heart-rending noises, they cannot be beaten. Can they?

RESPECTABLE PLACE

Judge Gruff: "Aren't you ashamed to be seen here in court so often?"

Prisoner: "Why, no, your honour. I always thought it was a very respectable place."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Overseas

I.N.O.C.'s DEMANDS FOR FAIR DEAL

Abolition of immigrant restrictions against Indians in various parts of the Commonwealth, grant of full citizenship rights to Indians domiciled overseas, abandonment of the policy of segregation social, political and economic, and removal of all restrictions on Indians' buying and owning property; these are among the main demands of the Indians overseas set out by Sri P. D. Saggi, General Secretary, Indian National Overseas Congress, in his first yearly report of the I.N.O.C.

Sri Saggi has appealed to the Government of India not to allow Indian labour to those countries which do not grant full citizenship rights to Indians and where our labourers could not get a fair deal and are not assured of healthy and gradual growth.

In this connection he has suggested the appointment of two committees.

(A) A Central Committee to supervise, select and regulate the emigration of labour from India.

(B) A Central Board for the rehabilitation of repatriated labour in India.

Concluding Sri Saggi says that the contention of the Indians abroad is; "Treat us exactly in the same way in respect of both responsibilities and privileges, as all other members of the community of whatever racial origin. Do not exempt us from responsibilities, do not deny us rights."

Malaya

INDIAN CAPITAL IN MALAYA

More than Rs. 75 crores of Indian capital is expected to be repatriated to India from Malaya in the next five years, when the Indian Income-Tax (1922) Act is amended, as announced by Finance Minister, C. D. Deshmukh in Parliament recently, to exempt taxes on remittances of Indian capital of "non-resident" Indians from foreign countries.

Iran

DISABILITIES OF INDIANS IN IRAN

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told Mr. H. V. Kamath in Parliament that Indians in Iran were, in common with other foreign nationals, subject to certain disabilities. He then placed on the table of the House a list of their disabilities.

The list says that no foreigner can become a member of the local chambers of commerce, municipalities, etc., nor is he eligible for service in Government and semi-Government offices. (Foreign technical experts are, however, employed by the Government with the consent of the appropriate authorities). He cannot practise law, medicine, surgery and teaching in Iran.

Foreigners are not allowed to own agricultural lands, and properties but are allowed to possess such immovable properties as are required for their business and residence, namely two premises one for office and the other for residence. They must possess a residential permit from the Police authorities if they desire to stay in Iran for more than a month and should renew it every six months. Even travelling from one town to another is subject to obtaining a permit from the appropriate authorities, and the Police have always to be kept informed of any change of address.

If a foreigner wants to leave Iran, he must first produce a clearance certificate from the Exchange Control Department, Income-Tax Department and the Police. Otherwise no permission will be given. He is not allowed to visit or reside in frontier towns without a special permit from the appropriate authorities.

For trading purposes, foreigners have to obtain from the Ministries of Commerce and Finance a special permit. No foreigner can be a director of companies with monopoly rights, such as the Telephone Co., and other public utility services and organisations. He is not allowed to engage in brokerage, to act as clearing agent, or to operate hotels, garages, cinemas, theatres, etc.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

The Congress draft Election Manifesto which was released on July 13 is a 4,000-word document which sets out the general principles which the party will pursue for the advancement of the social, economic and political life of the country.

Drafted by the Prime Minister, it stresses the need to follow Gandhiji's teachings, to value the moral and ethical basis of national life and make that the condition of political action.

The Manifesto promises land reforms, prevention of the fragmentation holdings, co-operative farming and preference to agricultural labour in the allocation of newly-reclaimed lands.

The document sets out in general the steps to be taken for the encouragement of cottage industries, provision of adequate quantities of yarn to meet the demand of the handloom industry and to provide employment.

It reiterates the Government's policy of mixed economy, controlled distribution in regard to commodities which are in short supply and maintenance of a fair and proper structure of relative prices as between agricultural commodities *inter se* and between them and manufactured articles. Priority will be given to river valley schemes.

A new feature in the Manifesto is that it is proposed to make a planned effort to canalise the unused time, skill and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis for the economic and social betterment of the community.

SOCIALIST PARTY MANIFESTO

The National General Council of the Socialist Party of India has adopted a 12,000-word platform, on the basis of which the party will contest the forthcoming elections to the Union and State Legislatures.

This is not the Socialist Party's long-term programme; it sets out what the

party would do in the next five years if put in power.

The platform states that the problem of people's food, cloth, shelter, education and freedom cannot be solved without bringing about a radical transformation of our social relations and without a thorough reorganisation of our economy and administration.

The changes enumerated in the platform are designed to reduce "the present appalling economic inequalities which are acting as a deterrent to the little man, the peasant, the worker, the technician, the small trader and *entrepreneur*; and to free our economy from the deadweight of the big barons of industry, finance and speculators. It is calculated to release the creative energies and enthusiasm of the people, which will be harnessed for the tasks of reconstruction."

THE OPPOSITION PARTY

"We are out to form a new party. It will be an opposition party inside and outside the legislature. It will be a friendly opposition because a democratic opposition is always a friendly opposition," said Acharya J. B. Kripalani addressing the *Ad Hoc* Subjects Committee of the All-India Political Conference mainly of Congress dissenters which he convened at Patna to weld out of it a new united organisation.

Acharya Kripalani in the course of his informal address said that the situation in the country had changed. Now the need had arisen to fight an internal enemy when the foreign enemy no more existed.

Justifying his parting of ways with the Congress, the Acharya observed that he had no personal ambition when he came out of the Congress, but he hastened to add that even a monk had some ambition. So, in his opinion, the yardstick to measure culpability in ambition was whether personal advantage was prized more than the country's advantage.

NEHRU'S REPLY TO LIAQAT'S ALLEGATIONS

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan told a Press Conference at Karachi on July 15 that 90 per cent of the Indian army was concentrated within easy striking distance, constituting a grave threat to Pakistan's security and to international peace. Replying to this charge, the Prime Minister, speaking at Bangalore the next day, observed:

I have just read the Pakistan Prime Minister's statement. It is typical of Pakistan statements. The facts stated by Mr. Liaqat Ali are not correct. It is true, however, that there have been movements of Indian Army units in order to give full security to our frontier areas. We cannot afford to let our frontiers go undefended or to permit ourselves to lapse from the vigilance that every independent nation is compelled by necessity to exercise. It is a gross falsehood for any one to suggest that India has any intention to attack Pakistan or any other country. There is no country and no Government in the world which abhors the idea of war so much as India. As evidence of this, we had demobilised a considerable section of our army last year and we had hoped that this would have some effect on Pakistan. Instead of this, Pakistan has been adding to her defence forces feverishly and, what is much worse, there has been a continuous, intensive and vicious propaganda for war in Pakistan during the last six months and more. Hardly a day goes by when the Pakistan newspapers do not talk about or demand war against India. Responsible leaders of Pakistan, including Ministers of Governments, demand war.

I do not know of any other case of such propaganda being carried on for war anywhere else at any time. We have repeatedly drawn attention to this of the Pakistan Government and of the United Nations. Yet this has continued. Either the Pakistan Government is responsible for it and encourages it or is incapable of checking it. During the last month, a large number of aggressive raids has taken place on Indian Union territory in Kashmir State from Pakistan. We have drawn the attention of the United Nations to this also. We know also that organised preparations for raids and sabotage in Indian Union territory have taken place in Pakistan.

PAKISTANI TALK OF "JEHAD"

My Government would have been failing in its duty if it did not take adequate measures to meet this grave situation. We are taking all such measures. On no account will India attack Pakistan. But if Pakistan indulges in any aggression on India in any part of her territory, this will be met adequately (cheers). We want to make this perfectly clear. It is intolerable for a continuous propaganda for *jeihad* to be carried on in Pakistan month after month without check or hindrance, and then for the Prime Minister of Pakistan to tell us that India is at fault and that he wants neighbourly relations with India. We want neighbourly relations, but not at the price of aggression, insult and calumny and continuous threat of war. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan refers to a 'no war' declaration. It was we who suggested it repeatedly and pressed for it and yet this was rejected by Pakistan on flimsy grounds repeatedly.

As I have said, we reduced our army last year. I should like to know whether the defence forces of Pakistan were reduced or increased during the past year. I should like to know whether these forces have not been added to greatly, both in West and East Pakistan, and if they are not massed near the borders of Indian territory.

We are engaged to-day in preparations for the most colossal democratic election in history. Only a day or two ago the Government party finalised a manifesto for these elections after public discussion in which we re-emphasised the need for peace and friendly relations with all our neighbours, including Pakistan. We agree that the maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere is desirable. We have done our utmost for this. The answer from Pakistan has been the cry of *jeihad* and threat of war. It ill becomes the Prime Minister of Pakistan to talk of neighbourly relations or of peace when his Government and his Ministers and his newspapers and many of his people are continually talking of war and preparing for it.

I regret to have to say that the activities of British military advisers and officers and ex-officers in Pakistan have added greatly to the prevailing tension.

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan has referred to Kashmir. He seems to forget that Pakistan's aggression still continues in Kashmir and that a part of Kashmir State territory, which is Indian Union territory, is still occupied by his troops. I have yet to learn under what law or equity this can be justified. Meanwhile, the present game of raiding Indian territory from Pakistan continues. If this is Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's idea of promoting a friendly atmosphere with a neighbour country it is not ours. I repeat that we shall commit no aggression on Pakistan on any account. But if Pakistan attacks any part of Indian Union territory, we shall meet this attack with all our strength.

KASHMIR'S TIES WITH INDIA

In a 65-minute speech which highlighted the entire proceedings, of the A.I.C.C. at Bangalore Sheikh Abdullah emphasised that Kashmir as well as India was fighting for the great principle of truth, love and justice inculcated by Gandhiji.

Tracing the genesis of the Kashmir problem, Sheikh Abdullah said that militarily Kashmir was totally unprepared even for self-defence - when Pakistani raiders came in. But the national Conference which preferred death to dishonour decided that it would resist.

Looking up to India, we Kashmiris saw in the midst of darkness two lights represented by Gandhiji and Nehru and we decided to follow that light. India came to the aid of unarmed Kashmiris and the blood of every Kashmiri mingled with the blood of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of India. This mingling of blood has nourished the tree of love between India and Kashmir.

I know in some quarters the question is asked whether Sheikh Abdullah, a Muslim, can be trusted to be loyal to India. It is not for me to answer that question. But I can say that Kashmiris and Indians have been fighting together in Kashmir for the truth and even if India withdraws her support, Kashmir will continue her friendship for India.

It is said that I do not represent the will of the people of Kashmir and I have been described as a stooge of Nehru. The truth will be tested in the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir.

Self-determination is a fundamental right and we will stand by it whatever the U. N. or anybody might say.

Our foreign policy will be in the hands of Nehru. We have accepted Nehru's leadership. Having chosen our leader, we will not entertain doubts or suspicions, but obey his command. Even if Nehru says 'Kashmir *katam ho* we will continue to obey him. Faith moves mountains and we have faith in our cause. The higher the ideals the greater the sacrifice, and we are prepared for the sacrifice.

Certain quarters argued that India was partitioned on the basis of religion and that a similar solution should be applied to Kashmir. "The fact is" Sheikh Abdullah asserted,

India was partitioned not on the basis of religion, but as a political settlement between two major political parties. Areas where the Congress was the dominating party were made Hindustan and areas where the Muslim League Party was in power was made Pakistan. The very fact that both Pakistan and India contained a large number of Hindus and Muslims will prove that partition was not based on religion.

"Pakistan, having failed in its attempts to grab Kashmir through underhand means, through force, now was trying to resort to other tactics.

Those tactics were to provoke the communalists in India through fanatical communal talk or repression of the minority community in East Bengal. Pakistan thought that by so doing it would undermine the faith of the people of India in the ideals and principles cherished by them for decades. This is, I feel, the greatest danger to Kashmir. I do not at all worry about any danger from Pakistan. People in India have to remain firm in their resolve to fight communal evil of every sort ruthlessly and to uphold the principles of love and truth and secularism.

Referring to convoking the proposed Constituent Assembly in the State, Mr. Abdullah said Pakistan and its foreign friends naturally felt 'perturbed' over the idea for they knew the Assembly would give the people full initiative. That was why Pakistan was trying to raise a hue and cry and resorting to all subterfuges to prevent the holding of the elections. It would not succeed in its nefarious activities.

"I told the new representative of the U.N.", Sheikh Abdullah said

that if Pakistan seriously challenged that Sheikh Abdullah's Government existed only because of the support of India, then why did it object to the convoking of the Constituent Assembly. The elections would show clearly where the Kashmir Government stood. If this was not the case, then your problem is solved. In that case, nobody has any business to interfere with the Kashmir issue.

KIDWAI AND JAIN

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Communications Minister, and Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, Rehabilitation Minister, have resigned from the Government and the Congress party.

Mr. Kidwai said his decision to leave the Congress was final, and since he was taken as a Minister because of his being a Congressman, he had resigned from the Cabinet also. Mr. Kidwai said that he sent in his resignation from the District Congress at Barabanki.

Within an hour of his resignation, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, his close associate, resigned his office, and also from Saranpur Congress.

SRI G. D. BIRLA'S OFFER

Sri G. D. Birla has offered on behalf of the Birla Education Trust a sum of Rs. 21 lakhs for the establishment of a Central Radio and Electronics Engineering Research Institute at Pilani.

Announcing this in Parliament, Sri Sri Prakasa, Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, told Dr. M. M. Das that the question of the site was still being examined. The Government wanted some other site for the institute. "If Sri Birla insists on Pilani," remarked Sri Sri Prakasa "and if we feel that the site is not suitable then the offer falls through."

The Minister said that the estimates of non-recurring expenditure were Rs. 40 lakhs and recurring expenditure Rs. 6 lakhs. The convention was that if private parties offered 50 per cent of the estimated cost, the Government could find the rest for establishment of such institutes.

1000 SCHOLARSHIPS FROM U.N.

The United Nations is offering 1,000 scholarships this year for advanced studies in educational and technical subjects.

The scholarships, which are open to students from all over the world will be made available through UNESCO, FAO, WHO, ILO, and other agencies of the United Nations. UNESCO alone offers 50 scholarships.

Many of these scholarships are offered as part of the UN plan for extending technical assistance to under-developed areas including India, Burma and other Far Eastern countries.

EDUCATION FOR BACKWARD CLASSES

The Government of Bombay have directed that the existing orders regarding the admission of backward class students to educational institutions should continue to be in force. In case a sufficient number of backward class students is not available for admission in accordance with these orders, the unfilled seats available for them should be filled in on merit from among the candidates of other communities.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR BACKWARD CLASSES

The Government of India have decided to continue the scheme of awarding scholarships to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes for the year 1951-52 and have sanctioned a grant of Rs. 15 lakhs to implement the scheme during the year. The scholarships are tenable in recognised institutions in India for post-Matriculation studies.

The scholarships will be awarded in the following courses, mentioned in order of preference: (a) Medicine and allied subjects including Nursing; (b) Engineering and Architecture; (c) Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Science; (d) Technology; (e) Science; (f) Education and Social Service; (g) Commerce; (h) Law; and (i) Arts; Social Science, Fine Arts and Library Science.

The primary consideration in the award of scholarships will be the merit of the candidate but the Board may take steps to ensure that Administrative Units which contain substantial proportion of members of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes are adequately represented in the final list of awards.

The Board will also take into consideration the financial position of the candidate's parents or guardians and will deduct in each case the value of any scholarships or financial assistance which the scholar may be receiving from other sources.

Applications for scholarships should be made in the prescribed form through the heads of the institutions, attended or last attended by the candidate, and addressed to the Secretary, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes Scholarships Board, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, in accordance with the instructions issued from time to time.

The last date for the receipt of applications by the Board is July 31, 1951.

COURTESY!

Two doctors were while out on a walk going behind a grave digger. Noticing the doctors, the grave digger stepped aside and allowed the doctors to overtake him. Surprised, the doctors asked him "What is the idea?" The grave digger answered, "Professionally, I come after you."

NEW BANK TRIBUNAL

The Ministry of Labour has set up a tribunal with Mr. H. V. Divatia, retired Judge of the Bombay High Court, as Chairman, to adjudicate on the industrial dispute between 137 banking companies and their employees.

Other members of the tribunal are Mr. M. G. Mekhri, retired Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, and Dr. B. N. Ganguli, Reader in Economics, Delhi University.

Among the 36 issues referred to the tribunal are those relating to scales of pay, dearness, house-rent, and travelling allowances, medical aid and expenses, retrenchment and victimisation and recognition of the All-India Bank Employees' Association.

The setting up of the tribunal follows withdrawal of the Conciliation Board constituted on May 22 after the Supreme Court had invalidated the awards of the All-India Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes). The Board could not function on account of differences of opinion between employers and employees on certain matters.

Under the Industrial Disputes (Amendment and temporary provisions) Act passed by Parliament on June 8, the present rates of wages and allowances will continue unaltered pending the award of the new tribunal.

JOURNALIST'S CLAIM UPHELD

"Journalism is a highly respectable profession which requires special skill and knowledge. A journalist has to work under various handicaps in this country, and it cannot surely be said that he is on a par with a clerk or a domestic servant whose services can normally be terminated with a month's notice."

These observations were made by Mr. V. S. Bakhle, Judge of the Bombay City Civil Court on July 15, while passing a decree in favour of a Sub-Editor of a local English daily, allowing four months' salary in lieu of notice.

The Judge added; "A Journalist is normally respected by society, respected by the rulers and has to maintain a high standard of rectitude and integrity; the

intellectual attainments associated with the profession entitle him to a more generous treatment."

The defendant company had given the Sub-Editor a month's notice as he was not prepared to accept a cut in his salary. The defendants contended that it was conventional to give only a month's notice.

Rejecting this plea, the Judge observed that in England it was the accepted custom to give a year's notice to Editors and six months' notice to Sub-Editors. But journalism in this country was still in its infancy or adolescence, and the possibility of any custom being in existence was remote. He added that knowledge and learning could not be debased even in an age where dignity of labour was rightly glorified. Therefore a month's notice was not reasonable.

In awarding four month's salary in lieu of notice to the Sub-Editor, the Judge took into consideration the financial position of the paper.

RELEASE THE KHAN BROTHERS

A resolution requesting all the world powers including the U.N.O. to ask for the release of the Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is detained in jail by the Pakistan Government, and his brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, who is also detained, was passed by a huge public meeting held on June 1 at Ambala under the auspices of the Frontier 'Pirat Sabha' (Frontier Refugees' Association) reports the *Tribune*.

The resolution, the report adds, while expressing great concern on the continued ill-health of Badshah Khan in jail prayed that God may restore him to complete health. All the World Powers and the U.N.O. were asked to press for the release of Badshah Khan because it was maintained that his release would contribute very greatly to the world peace as he was the one man after Gandhiji, who could be really called the practical exponent of Gandhiji's message of Love and 'Ahimsa.' The meeting demanded at the same time the release of Dr. Khan Sahib and thousands of Khudai Khidmatgars who are now in the Frontier jails.

INCOME TAX ASSESSEES

The Union Finance Ministry has decided to grant an additional concession to income-tax assesseees in connexion with their voluntary and quasi-voluntary disclosures. A Press Note says:

Certain concessions were announced on May 20, 1951. Under one of these assesseees were allowed, for the purpose of payment of their outstanding demands assessed before April 1, 1951, to bring into their accounts with immunity from prosecution for further taxation, so much cash as represented intangible additions made in the preceding assessments in computing their assessable income. As this concession was aimed primarily at facilitating the payment of taxes, its scope was limited only to cases which were in arrears.

Following representations received by it, the Government has now decided that assesseees who are not in arrears in the payment of tax, may also bring into books unaccounted for cash without fear of penalty prosecution or further taxation, subject to the following conditions:

1. The cash is brought into the books before August 31, 1951.

2. Intimation of the amount of cash introduced is sent simultaneously to the income tax officer concerned.

3. The amount of cash that will be exempt from taxation is to the extent of the intangible additions made in the immediately preceding 3 completed assessments.

4. The cash so introduced will be treated on the same footing as if it were a part of the whole as the case may be of voluntary or quasi voluntary disclosure. As the last date for voluntary and quasi-voluntary disclosures has been fixed as Aug. 31, 1951, the same date has to be taken for bringing in cash under this additional concession.

5. If there is any appeal revision or reference application pending in respect of such intangible additions it has to be withdrawn.

6. If there are any penalty proceedings, pending in respect of such intangible additions, the mitigating circumstances indicated by the disclosure will be taken into account, and a very lenient view will be taken, but any penalty already imposed will not be remitted.

7. If the cash introduced exceeds the intangible additions made in the immediately preceding 3 completed assessments, such excess will be treated as if it were a part or the whole of a voluntary or quasi-voluntary disclosure in respect of income which has escaped assessment, and will be charged to tax accordingly, subject to the concessional treatment available for such disclosures.

FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA

India's foreign trade for 1950-51 showed a favourable balance of Rs. 21 crores, in contrast to an adverse trade balance of Rs. 75 crores during 1949-50, according to official figures, available here.

India's exports in the 12 months ending March 31, 1951, totalled Rs. 586,88,00,000 while her imports for the same period came to Rs. 565,45,00,000. In the previous year, India's exports totalled Rs. 485 crores while her imports were of the order of Rs. 560.5 crores.

The United Kingdom was India's best market, taking nearly Rs. 128 crores worth of goods during 1950-51. The U.S.A. was the next best customer and Rs. 106 crores of Indian goods were exported there. Singapore and Australia followed each other closely with the former taking Rs. 30.32 crores worth of goods and the latter Rs. 29.74 crores worth of goods from India. India's two neighbours, Burma and Ceylon came next with Rs. 21.89 crores and Rs. 18.18 crores respectively.

The United Kingdom was also the country from which India imported most of her goods the total value of which was nearly Rs. 123 crores. India's imports from the U.S.A. totalled about Rs. 116 crores.

PRODUCTION TARGETS

Annual production of mill-made cotton cloth is estimated to increase to 4,500 million yards at the end of the five-year plan. The production in 1950 was 3,665 million yards.

Yarn production will be increased to 1,600 million lbs. as compared to the 1950 figure of 1.74 million lbs.

The expansion targets of other industries in the private sector estimated by the Planning Commission in consultation with representatives of the industries are as follows:—

	1950	1955-56
Automobiles (manufacturing only)	3,840	25,000
Cement (in thousand tons)	2,613	4,600
Steel: Finished (in thousand tons)	1,015	1,305
Sugar (in thousand tons)	1,100	1,600
Agricultural Implements:		
(i) Centrifugal Pumps	30,292	77,544
(ii) Diesel Engines	4,596	46,193

BRITISH CHANCELLOR REJECTS
EQUAL PAY CLAIM

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, flatly rejected the principle of equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service.

He said that, apart from costing £25,000,000 a year, it would be the signal for the introduction of equal pay in other occupations.

And this would mean even higher prices all round.

Women M. Ps. attacked Mr. Gaitskell's decision.

Four years ago Mr. Dalton, then Chancellor, admitted the equal pay principle, but refused to put it into practice on the broad grounds of cost.

The staff side of the Whitley Council asked the Government if complete satisfaction were not possible, to adjust women's pay progressively so that differences between their pay packets and men's were at length removed.

Six major reasons why he cannot take their advice were given by Mr. Gaitskell in the Commons.

1. Equal pay in the Civil Service would "inevitably" have to be extended to teachers, local government workers, and other people not in private employment.

2. In many industrial and commercial jobs women get less than men for similar work. Differences in pay are often much greater than in the Civil Service.

Introduction of equal pay in the public services would be followed swiftly by its introduction in other occupations.

3. Increases would, as a result of this pressure, be sought for women employed on purely women's work, said Mr. Gaitskell: "Thus the effect of the Government's decision would be to improve the position of women in relation of men throughout employment generally."

4. The process, if it had no other consequences would raise industrial costs and drive up prices to the public still further.

5. Equal pay would put up the living standard of an unmarried woman with no dependants in relation to that of a married man with a wife and children to support.

6. Demands would thus be made for higher family allowances. To meet those, taxation would have to be increased, with more burdens on industry and therefore still higher prices.

REFUGEE WOMEN

The amazing story of the mysterious disappearance of 303 Kashmiri Muslim women from three camps in Pakistan and their later sale has been reported by press correspondents.

The proceeds of the sale of these women, says one, have been divided among the organisers of the camps.

These women, it is stated, have been sold in the same manner as other women carried away from Kashmir by the tribal raiders were previously sold.

Information reaching Delhi also refers to a rapid deterioration in the condition of Kashmiri Muslims in the three camps at Mansar, Campbellpur District, Wah in Rawalpindi District and Chak Jamal in Jhelum District where the numbers of the inmates are stated to be 9,000, 11,000 and 35,000, respectively, including men, women and children.

Whenever any important foreign Muslim visitor arrives in Pakistan, it is reported, he is taken round these camps and induced to make statements against India.

The disappearance of the women-27 from Wah, 36 from Mansar and 210 from Chak Jamal is reported to have been recorded during May and their disappearance has been recorded in the police posts attached to the camps.

Health conditions in the camps are also stated to be far from satisfactory with 40 to 50 deaths every month in each camp due to tuberculosis and other dreadful ailments. The rate of infant mortality in the Wah camp was stated to be highest, with 36 deaths in May, besides 27 women and 17 men who died in the month.

PARTIES AND SYMBOLS IN MADRAS
Representatives of 17 political parties met in conference and have expressed their preferences in respect of symbols for their respective candidates in the ensuing general elections. The following is the list of parties and their choice of symbols:

Congress—Plough with two bulls.
Praja Party—Elephant.
Democratic Party—Olympic torch.
Tamilnad Socialist Party—A plough without bulls.
Backward Classes League—Horse.
Tamilnad Scheduled Castes Federation—Hut.
Socialist Party—Toothed wheel and a plough or a tree.
All-India Republican Party—Toothed wheel and an ear of corn.
Muslim League—Lantern.
Forward Bloc—Leaping Tiger.
United Socialist Front—Five-pointed star.
Communist Party—Hammer and Sickle.
Justice Party—A pair of scales.
The Common Weal Party, Vellore—Elephant or umbrella.
Tamilnad Voters' Party—A human skeleton with the right hand pointed towards its belly.
Hindu Maha Sabha—Cock.
All-India Agriculturists Union—Plough with a ear of corn.

PRIZES FOR ESSAYS ON INDIAN CULTURE

Sundarlal, Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society, 145, Muthiganj, Allahabad, writes:

In December last the Hindustani Culture Society announced the award of three prizes for essays on Indian Culture. At the suggestion of some friends the value of the prizes has now been increased from Rs. 500, Rs. 300 and Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000, Rs. 500 and Rs. 250.

The final date for the submission of the essays has also been changed from 30th of June 1951 to 30th of September 1951.

The essays should deal with permanent aspects of Indian Culture as it has developed in the past and attempt to

describe the features of a common Indian Culture for the future. The essay should be written in English or in Hindustani and should consist of not less than five thousand and not more than ten thousand words. Three copies of the essay should be submitted to the Secretary, not later than 30th September, 1951. The Hindustani Culture Society will have the right to publish any one or more of the essays submitted.

MISS A MEAL MOVEMENT

This is a welcome experiment in voluntary effort and national co-operation.

Miss a Meal Movement has been launched on a country wide basis and pamphlets, posters and pledge forms are being distributed to social, educational, cultural and political organizations in each and every town of India. The covering letter requests the heads of these institutions to call a meeting of the members and pass resolutions supporting the Movement. After that the members should sign the pledge and having signed the pledge themselves, they should approach their friends and relations to sign the pledge.

1. I promise to miss a cereal meal every week, preferably at Friday lunch, and to draw one fourteenth less than my full weekly ration till 1952. . . .

2. I promise not to have more on my plate than I require and to "leave my plate clean of leavings. . . ."

Note: The name of the day and the meal should be mentioned in the pledge.

Who eats if India starves. . .

Who wastes if India remains hungry. . .

Who feasts if India stretches her hands for food. . .

ADULT LITERACY

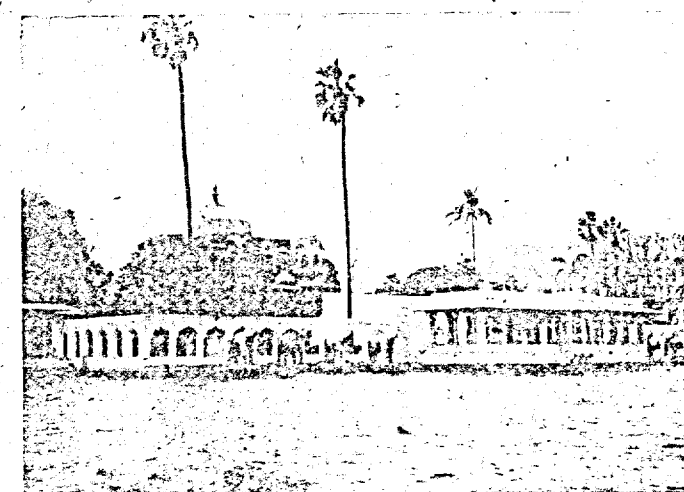
The article on "Adult Literacy" published in the last issue of the *Review* was really a talk by Mr. Laubach as our readers might have known from the opening sentence of the script. We regret the failure to make an acknowledgment to the External Services of the All-India Radio.

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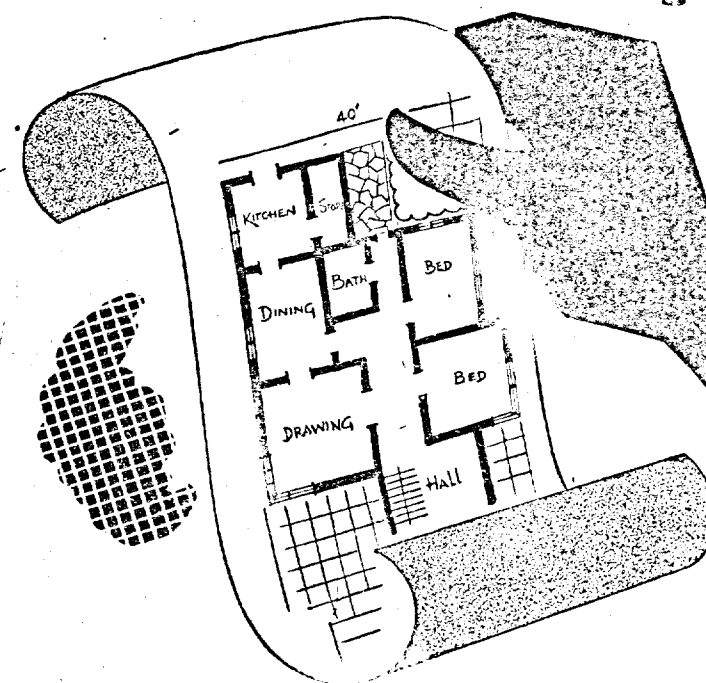
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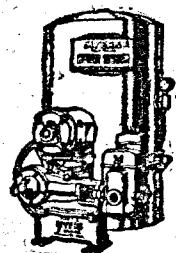


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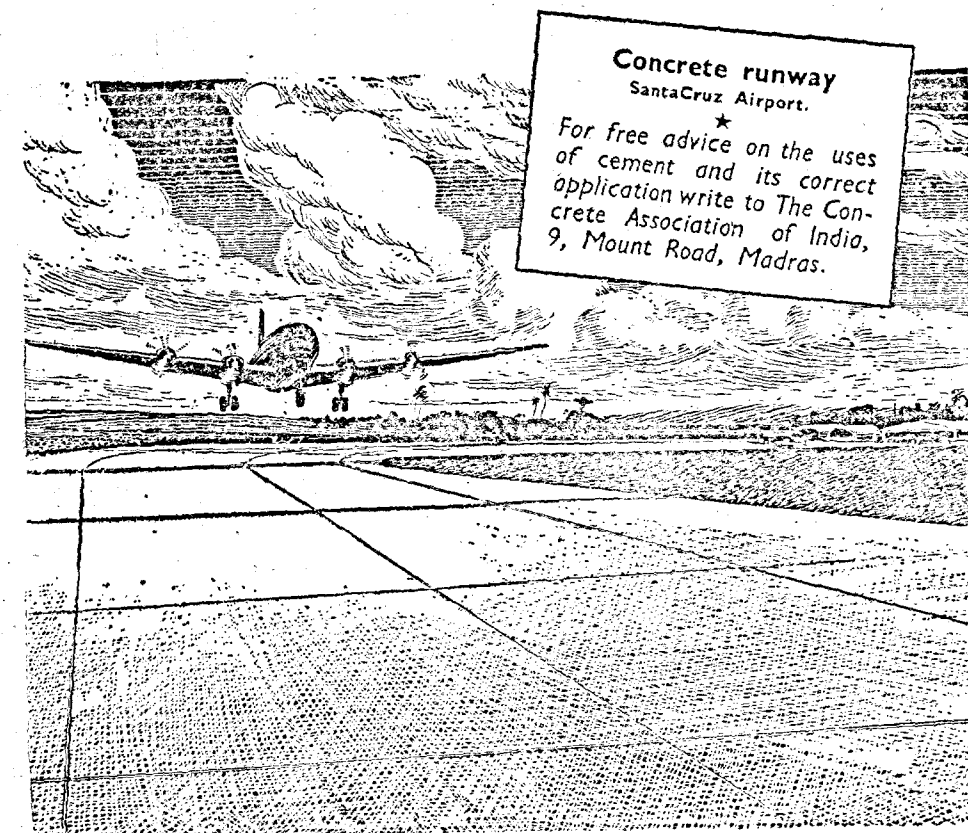
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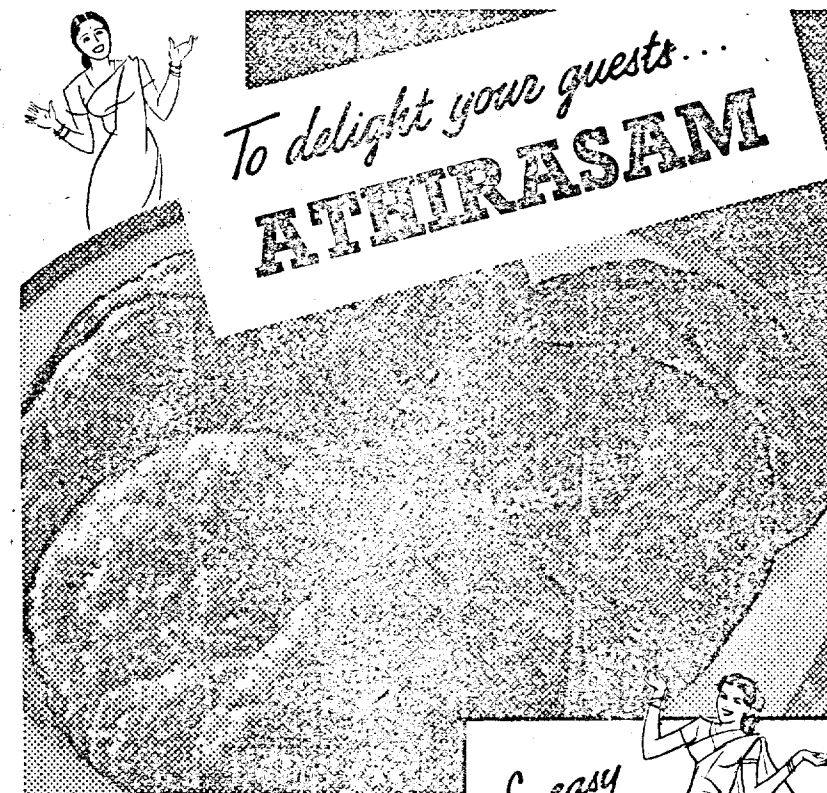
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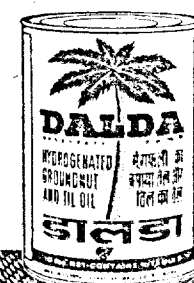
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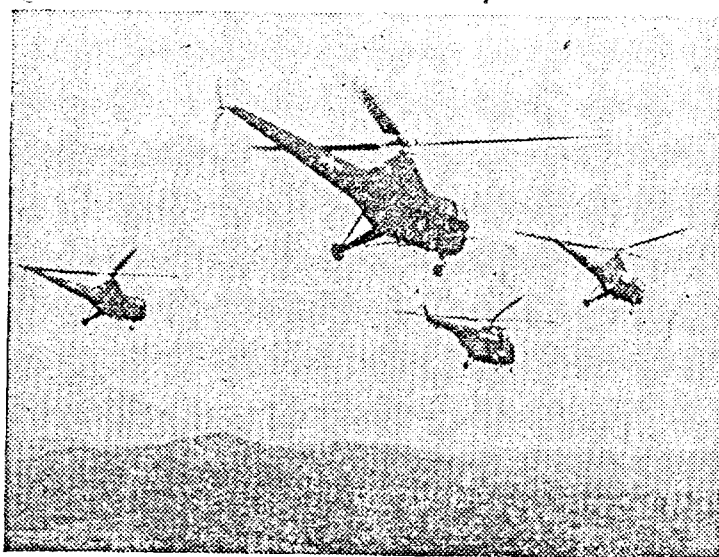
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This convoy of four United States Air Force helicopters carried a five-man United Nations negotiation team to meet Communist representatives in Kaesong to discuss a Korean armistice.

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Vol. 52.]

SEPTEMBER 1951

[No. 9.]

PRESIDENT'S CALL TO NATION

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Indian Independence:

THIS fourth anniversary of our national independence beckons us to re-dedicate ourselves in all gladness and joy to the great mission which we had undertaken when we set out on our journey to the Temple of Freedom. We have taken a solemn pledge that we would banish poverty and ignorance, injustice and exploitation from our land and people.



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

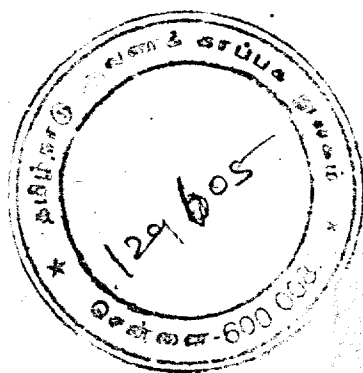
During the years that have rolled by since then we have laid the groundwork on which we can build for the future. The establishment of the Democratic Republic, the integration of the political system of the country, the consolidation of law and order, the reorganisation of the services, the mapping out of the resources and the tentative plan of their utilisation for the expansion and development of our national economy have brought us to a stage from where the distant goal is dimly visible.

These steps have been taken notwithstanding the great storms and stresses that were released by the last great war and heightened by the partition of the country. We are determined not to be diverted from the great task of making the life of each citizen of India more cheerful, more satisfied and more full. Let us hope that the time is not far away when we shall be making steady progress towards larger production of food and cloth, when the problem of endemic floods and famine and scarcity of cloth would have become an unpleasant but a distant and departed dream.

We have been in fact marching through shadow and darkness during the last four years—and the journey has been hard and toilsome. There has been many an anxious moment, but it is to the glory of our people that they have stood up to all buffets of history and fortune.

Even now the darkness has not dispersed nor have the clouds rolled away. On the horizon there are still lightning and thunder and one knows not what these may mean in the days to come. We are trying our best in pursuance of our declared aim and policy which we have consistently followed to avoid everything that may worsen a situation made explosive by others. But if the worst comes to the worst, I have no doubt that every son and daughter of India will do the duty that India expects him or her to do.

I send to our people greetings on this day of joy and rejoicing and ask them to march ahead with renewed courage and confidence with heart within and God overhead.



THE PRIME MINISTER

FOUR YEARS OF FREEDOM.

BY LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

(O)

ON August 15 it will be exactly four years since India achieved her independent status. They have been years full of anxiety and difficulty not only for India and the United Kingdom but for the whole of the great continents of Asia and Europe to which we respectively belong.

Three of the leading statesmen who sat round the conference table when the terms of the settlement were being discussed have been withdrawn from public life—two of them, Mahatmaji and Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah, by death, and Sir Stafford Cripps by severe and protracted illness. Threats of war and famine have disturbed our peace. Acute financial and economic problems have had to be faced and have still to be overcome.

Standing like a rock amid the surging sea has been the mutual friendship and goodwill of the people of India and Britain who have extended to one another understanding, forbearance, sympathy, respect and practical assistance. In these four years India has not only established her own independent position but has taken her place by common consent as an equal member of the self-governing Commonwealth which has been enlarged and enriched by the inclusion of an Asian people with a great historic culture.

This happy outcome was by no means a foregone conclusion. It would have been so easy for lingering memories of disagreement and continuing differences of outlook to have hardened into conflict and separation. That the converse has been the case does great credit alike to the original members of the Commonwealth and to the wise statesmen who have guided the destinies of India during these transitional and perilous times.

We in Britain have greatly admired the wide concepts underlying the new Indian Constitution with its liberal acceptance of the full equality of all sections of the people without distinction of race, religion, caste or sex. From our long experience of constitutional government we know, of

course, that true democracy is not easy of attainment. It cannot be settled once and for all; it has to be striven after continuously and unendingly. The price of liberty, as has been most truly said, is eternal vigilance. Therefore we shall watch with deep interest and sustained sympathy your struggle to give effect in practice throughout the everyday life of your people, as well as in the political expression of it, the great principles which your leading men have with so much wisdom written into your constitution.

COMING GENERAL ELECTION

We shall watch too with interest but inevitably with less knowledge (for no one people can ever fully understand the internal politics of another) the General Election which is shortly to take place throughout India. This gigantic exercise of the franchise—the largest that the world has ever seen—will place a new stamp on your parliamentary machine. We recognise that the absolute ascendancy of the political party that carried through the fight for independence and has guided the destinies of India since it was won will be challenged and that there is likely to be after the election a majority party and one, or perhaps more than one, opposition party. We see in this nothing unhealthy or unfortunate. It is part of the normal and natural working of political democracy and whatever the precise constitution of the Indian Government which holds office after the new Parliament has met, it will be the business of the United Kingdom Government of the day to keep in close friendly relations with it.

Inside the vast area which constitutes the Indian peninsula you have had many problems to face which are more comparable with those of Europe as a whole than with those of any one of its component nations. We pay our tribute to the skill with which your statesmen have brought into an ordered unity the whole of the territory comprised in the new India, and we naturally deplore, as you do, that you have not upto now been equally successful in adjusting your relations with the other

great State which is also a member of the Commonwealth and controls the destinies of the remaining peoples of the peninsula.

But no nation of Europe where quarrels and intermittent strife have existed for centuries and which even to-day is cleft in two by conflicting ideologies and mutual suspicion has any possible justification for throwing stones at you on this account. It is our hope and prayer that before long a way will be found to overcome your difficulties in this respect and that your well-being will thereby be greatly enhanced.

FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY

India, both by its history and geographical position, faces world problems from an Asian standpoint. It would in consequence be unrealistic to expect that its foreign policy would be identical with that of the United Kingdom. Rightly understood this is a source of strength

and not of weakness to both countries to-day. It will continue to remain so in the future so long as there is friendly interchange of views between them and a sincere effort on both sides to reach accommodation in accord with the interests of both and of world peace.

Vast are the economic and social issues which confront India with its rapidly growing population. From our long association with your country we are deeply sensible of their complexity and of the difficulties which beset anyone who has the responsibility of finding a way through them. I am confident that I am speaking not only for our Government but for our nation as a whole when I say that so far as lies in our power we are ready to give not only our sympathy but our tangible help in any ways which commend themselves for the benefit and comfort of the masses of the people of India.

FUTURE SOCIETY

BY SRI S. D. VISHINANI

If anyone asked me what our future society would be like, I would report as follows:

The society of the future will be a complete departure from the present-day society. It will eliminate social and economic inequalities to a greater extent. It will be a classless society in which there will be no caste, racial or provincial distinctions. People will be closer to each other and understand one another better. It will be a society where a prince and a pauper will enjoy equal rights and privileges. In such a society wealth will be evenly distributed among the people. There will be lesser rich and poor folk. The bulk of our population will be middle-class who will earn a fair wage and lead a life free from want and misery.

Education in primary, secondary and high schools will be free and compulsory for every child of the land. Those

children who are intellectually backward will be provided facilities for technical education and training in arts and crafts. Education beyond the matriculation stage will be financed and subsidized by the State for such students who show remarkable intelligence and ability. University education will become less expensive and a larger number of students will join the colleges.

In the field of employment, the problem would be solved satisfactorily. A network of employment exchanges throughout the country will secure jobs for every man. Those who are unemployed for a long period will receive a monthly allowance for maintenance from the State and shall accept any work that they may be called upon to do by the State.

The relations between men and women will undergo revolutionary changes. Women will become the equals of men in every walk of life and there will be

keen competition between the two for superiority. All jobs and professions will be thrown open to women. Women will find it easier to get jobs than the men. The result will be an inevitable bitterness between the two. A large number of men will refuse to marry women and many women will refuse to marry men. Everybody will be over conscious of one's individuality. This will result in frustration and unhappiness among the people.

Morality will become a loose thread and sanctity of person meaningless. Corruption among the younger generation will increase and bring about degradation of society.

The home will lose its traditional stability and solidarity. The children will naturally suffer for they will not receive proper care and nurture. The seeds of a more unstable society will be sown.

The relations between father and son will deteriorate. The son will become independent soon after attaining maturity. Daughters will also try to be self-supporting as soon as they are equipped for life.

The old folk will not be taken proper care of. The present generation may therefore be well advised to save enough for old age. Otherwise, their days will be numbered.

There will be an unprecedented migration of people from the villages to the cities in search of better living conditions. The talent from the villages will get the better of the city folk who will degenerate into subordinate stations in life. There will be a slight bitterness between the two but that will not last long.

All the industries and big undertakings will be run on co-operative lines. The worker will have a fair share in the profits and will lead a care-free life. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme will be extended to all categories of workers, both in Government and private establishments. The employers will undertake to look after the interests of workers and make adequate provision for the education and other amenities for their children.

All workers will be entitled to a pension in old age.

The housing problem will be solved completely. Everyone will get a house on nominal rent. Government and private concerns will undertake to build houses on every available piece of land and offer it to the general public on rental basis. No family will be allowed to have more than one house. Every possible attention will be paid to water, sanitation, electricity and other necessary arrangements.

The country will have a democratic Government run by the elected representatives of the people. It will look after the interests of the common man and will do everything in its power to improve his lot. Want, misery, poverty and pestilence, disease, hunger and insecurity will be eradicated.

The country will have a strong defence force which will be equal to the best in the world. It will safeguard the security of the State against external aggression.

For law and order within the country there will be a strong and efficient police force. It will be a popular force drawn from our own people. It will understand the needs of the public and provide safety and security to all.

There will also be a voluntary force which will assist the police in the maintenance of law and order in times of emergency. It will also contribute to the war effort in case there is a war.

Whether such a society will emerge in the future nobody can say. But what we see today can give us an idea of tomorrow. The shape of things to come has certainly a relevance to the present which is a symbol of the march of time. As time passes and our ideas grow and mould, a new society is born. Everyone of us has something to contribute to the society of the future if it is to be of our dreams and aspirations. And it is in this hope that the above few lines are written.

ADHERE TO PRESCRIBED DIET OR DIE

"Did you keep to the diet I prescribed for you?"

"I've tried to, doctor, but it hasn't been easy."

"Nonsense! I said you were to eat what your three-year-old baby boy eats."

"Yes, doctor, I know. Candles, pieces of coal, shoe-laces, India-rubber. . ."

DOES INDIA NEED A DICTATOR?

BY MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

—(O)—

[T is strange but true, that although the very idea of dictatorship is repugnant to our aspirations, past and present, quite a number of people have come to believe that a powerful but benevolent dictator alone can help India out of her present difficulties. To cleanse the administration, to stamp out corruption and blackmarket, to introduce and implement effective economic and social reforms, to give stability to our political life and to foster a spirit of unity and harmony among the people, it is felt, is required the strong arm of a dictator. At least one M.P. has given expression to such sentiments during the last session of the Parliament.

That such an idea should be entertained even before our nascent democracy has faced the formal test of a general election is indeed deplorable but we cannot ignore the fact that the tendency to think in terms of dictatorship is there, albeit among a small section of our people. The matter therefore demands attention and keeping aside all sentiments it is necessary to examine the practical side of the question. What are the relative merits of democracy and dictatorship as forms of government? Has democracy failed in India and can dictatorship really be as effective a restorative as is expected to be by some people? These are some of the questions we must seek to answer.

To begin with, no normal man would have any reservations on the choice of democracy as an ideal form of government. Democracy is true to human nature because it endeavours to afford man the fullest scope to develop his personality and is conducive to the continued progress of social evolution. It has shaped itself and continues to develop into new stages as a result of the accumulated experiences of men in managing their affairs.

Democracy is based on the concept of individual freedom whereas dictatorship connotes regimentation of the human mind

and spirit and mass slavery. For, a dictator, benevolent or oppressive, has necessarily, in order to safeguard his own position and realise his objectives, to resort to methods which do not conform to the natural order of things, even if they temporarily appear to yield material benefits.

Then again democracy signifies stability and continuity, while dictatorship, as history amply demonstrates, is the least enduring form of government. There are times however when freedom generates into licence and for the very purpose of safeguarding democratic ideals it becomes imperative to suspend some of the functions of a democratic state. It was in such circumstances that the Romans used to have dictators. But while the tenure of Roman dictators was always restricted to the period of emergency, the modern dictators have shown a tendency to stick perpetually to the pedestals of power. Ultimately the end no doubt always comes.

The transition from democracy to dictatorship however is often a simple affair but the reversion to democracy is always a painful process. The dictators generally meet their end either through a national calamity or a revolution, resulting in a double tragedy: the destruction of whatever a dictator might have been able to achieve in the material field and the creation of conditions that render the resuscitation of suppressed democracy difficult if not impossible. Even if the dictator does not meet with such a fate as in the case of Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, progress achieved hot-house methods does not endure.

The aftermath of dictatorial rule is generally much more terrible than its prelude. To quote the late President Roosevelt "the ultimate failures of dictatorship cost humanity much more than the temporary failures of democracy." It is mainly to obviate these dangers that the constitutions of democratic states embody emergency provisions—and the Indian constitution is no exception—designed to preserve the rule of law in abnormal times, without damaging the

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essentially democratic structure of the society.

It therefore follows that inspite of all its defects and shortcomings democracy is an universally acceptable form of government, capable of accommodating itself to the genius and temper of all peoples and functioning in any set of circumstances. Even if it does not always constitute a government of the people by the people and for the people, democracy, as Mazini puts it, endeavours to foster the "progress of all through all, under the leading of the best and the wisest."

It is thus wrong to say that democracy is not suitable for all countries, for democracy cannot be imposed by any outside agency but grows out of its environments and is shaped by the spontaneous will of the people. Thus while what particular brand of democracy is suited to Indian conditions may be a debatable point, there is not the slightest doubt that it has to be democracy and always democracy, particularly since India's democratic traditions spring from ancient times and our people by culture and temperament are essentially democratic in outlook.

In fact our present troubles that lead some people to advocate dictatorship as an alternative are the result not of our having too much of democracy but far too little of it. We have as a nation failed to adjust ourselves to the new surroundings and we are still moving in the old grooves. The administrative system the backbone of democratic public life, still retains its old character of an instrument of a police state, notwithstanding the overlordship of popular ministers. Similarly the public at large have yet to fully reform their attitude towards the administration as behoves a free people who are the masters of their destiny and is demanded by a democratic way of life. Vigilance and a sense of responsibility are the essential characteristics of a democratic citizen. Democracy therefore has not failed in India, we have not yet given democracy a chance.

The dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in India is a normal phenomenon but we must not seek a way

out of the crisis through shortcuts like dictatorship, which as we have seen do more harm than good in the long run. The way out of our difficulties lies in making our people ever more conscious of their power and responsibilities and vigilant about their rights and privileges of citizenship. We must not suppress democracy but strengthen it, if necessary by remodelling our democratic institutions so as to enable our people to bear their due share of the task of rebuilding the New India in a more effective way. It is the slower but securer and more promising way and the more courageous. For, it is indeed cowardly to sacrifice the ultimately objectives for the sake of immediate conveniences by mortgaging our destinies in the hands of a dictator, benevolent or otherwise.

It is admitted that it is essential to break the slough despondency and frustration into which the people have sunk as a result of their mounting misery and suffering. Perhaps we need some kind of shock-therapy that will stimulate the enthusiasm of the people and canalise their very discontent into constructive efforts to conquer the national crisis. This is certainly not the job of a dictator but a truly democratic leadership.

CHILDREN'S SONG

BY FRANCES FROST

—:o:—

Children bloom in meadows,
children bloom in alleys,
children dream by rivers
among the tiger lilies.

Children run in valleys
of purple vetch and mallow,
children run in canyons
of fire-escapes and sorrow.

Knowing the joke of wars,
they neither quake nor cower,
Impudent as stars,
still the children flower.

—N. Y. Herald-Tribune.

THE FOOD FRONT

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, WARDHA

DURING the last two years we have been repeatedly told by Pandit Nehru and the Union Food Minister Shri Munshi that the Government of India is determined not to import food-grains after March 1952. The nation had been solemnly asked to tighten its belt and attain food self-sufficiency at all costs. The Prime Minister's appeal had a salutary effect on the general public and every attempt was being made to increase food production in the country. In view of the constant danger of international conflict and conflagration, a policy of food self-sufficiency was very sound and practical. Pandit Nehru had succeeded in rousing the enthusiasm of the people and in developing to a considerable degree the will to be free from the want of food.

And now the Planning Commission, of which Pandit Nehru is the Chairman, tells us in the course of the first Five Year Plan that it is necessary "to plan imports so as to ensure that during the next few years it is possible to reckon upon annual imports of about 3 million tons; in exceptional years, imports may have to be larger." The Commission's plan does not envisage self-sufficiency in food even after five years. Since India has been, unfortunately, facing abnormal years in succession, the prospects are that the annual imports, according to the Plan, would be easily 4 million tons. The Commission is not at all sure when it may be feasible to stop imports of foodgrains; "during the next few years" is a very vague and indefinite phrase which ill becomes a Planning Commission. While signing the Plan, did Pandit Nehru not remember the grave words that he had been using regarding the nation's will to be free from bondage of foreign food?

Economic Planning is not merely a matter of rupees, annas and pies; its success is possible of attainment only through a psychological revolution among the people. If the Government of India and the Planning Commission think that the Five Year Plan can be worked out only with the assistance of internal and foreign capital and without enlisting the whole-hearted co-operation and will-power

of the masses, they would be sadly mistaken and disillusioned. In a country like India where there is dearth of capital and abundance of labour, the State should depend on the invaluable labour assets rather than on the money factor.

If Government prepares a definite plan of food self-sufficiency and harnesses the voluntary effort and enthusiasm of the people, there is no reason why the country cannot attain the targets of increased production within a specified period. Where there is a will there is a way. Nothing substantial could be achieved without hard labour and determined effort. If China can produce on one acre twice as much as India and if Japan can grow three times as much, we see no reason why India, with enormous man-power and a brilliant leadership cannot attain self-sufficiency within a very limited time. To be independent of foreign food-grains is the very essence of modern democracy. If, unfortunately, a global holocaust is precipitated in the near future we cannot ask the people to devour jute and cotton or tobacco. All the national energies should, therefore, be utilised for the production of more food. The policy of growing jute and earning dollars for importing foodgrains is suicidal and short-sighted. It should be clearly realised by the Government of India that self-sufficiency in food is the *sine qua non* of effective national defence. The Planning Commission ought to prepare a revised Plan for proper crop-planning in the country. The present policy of trying to grow more food as well as to please the jute and textile mill-owners is not satisfactory. The country must not import food a minute longer than what is absolutely necessary for national existence. The Prime Minister was perfectly justified in appealing to the nation to attain self-sufficiency by the end of March 1952; he had acted as the fore-sighted leader and well-wisher of India. The Planning Commission, by side-tracking the issue and rejecting the possibility of stopping food imports in the near future has definitely gone back upon the Prime Minister's pledge to the nation.

IN SEARCH OF PETROLEUM

BY MR. S. K. KARR, B.Sc., ENG'G. (U.S.A.), F.G.M.S.

(Specialist Engineer, Bhakra Dam Project)

INDIA is undoubtedly very rich in mineral resources and almost every type of minerals is available here in abundance. As it appears at the outset, the same can not be said of petroleum. It will not be safe to say so before the country is thoroughly explored. In the opinion of many, there is a huge possibility awaiting proper exploration.

It was to meet the ever-increasing demands for raw materials of the big British interests, the department of the Geological Survey of India was established. It was of course, always on the expansion keeping the same idea in view. With the advent of independence the present Government is gradually appreciating its due importance, but its limited financial resources is always standing in between as a great handicap for its long deserved expansion to meet the present-day need of the country.

PRODUCTION AND IMPORT

The undivided India had two oil-fields of her own. The Digboi oil-fields of Assam in the easternmost part of India, is operated by The Assam Oil Company Ltd., and the Jura Mair, Khaur and Dhulian oil-fields, near Atak Bridge on the Indus in the westernmost part of India, is being operated by the Atak Oil Co., Ltd. The combined production of these two oil-fields is not even 1 per cent of the total petroleum production of the world. In the year 1944, as the record shows, they produced petroleum of the total value of Rs. 1 crore and 78 lacs only. However, with the partition of the country the three small oil-fields, last named have gone to Pakistan.

The Assam oil-fields are capable enough, under the present circumstances, to produce only 5 per cent of the total petroleum requirements of the country, and the remaining 95 per cent has to be imported from abroad. Out of that Iran alone supplies 74 per cent, and the remaining 21 per cent has to be imported from the rest of the world.

India imported 16 crore 80 lac gallons in the year 1949, and 19 crore 35 lac gallons in the year 1950. In the current

year, arrangement has been made for an import of 23 crore 70 lac gallons, out of which we got 1 crore 45 lac gallons in the month of January and only 75 lac gallons in the month of February.

These are the accounts of the import of petrol, which is also known as "motor spirit" and "gasoline" and is used in aeroplanes, motor cars, trucks, petrol engines and dry cleaning etc. In addition, there are things like kerosene oil, lubricating oil, diesel oil, crude oil, grease, paraffin (with which candles are made), bitumen, asphalt, pitch, naphtha (with which naphthalene balls are made), stearine and many other things, which are made of petroleum in different stages of refining. They also consume a big amount of our import quota.

ORIGIN OF PETROLEUM: (Organic and Inorganic theories.)

The state in which we recover crude petroleum through the oil-wells is nothing but a mixture of Hydro-carbons of solid, liquid and gaseous states. They mostly are of paraffin series ($C_n H_{2n+2}$). There are other minerals mixed with it, but in very small proportion. For this reason crude oil of different oil fields vary in quality and price.

When we work in coal mines, at times we may meet with some fossils of trees or leaves. These give us a clear proof of what things, due to high temperature and pressure under-ground, have transformed into coal. No such direct evidence can be had in the case of petroleum. But due to certain natural laws, such as, gravity, surface tension etc., liquids flow from one place and accumulate in some suitable low place. This point will be dealt with elaborately at a later stage. The origin of petroleum therefore still remains as a guess work.

Down to the end of the last century the inorganic theory of the origin of petroleum was prevalent. It was then the belief that water percolation down through the rock joints and pore spaces, is converted into steam by the internal heat of the body of the earth. This steam, coming in contact with carbide of iron and other similar substances, and by chemical action

Hydro-carbon of paraffin group is produced. Nowadays this theory is not taken into consideration.

The organic theory of the origin of petroleum is now being supported, though what particular organic matter transforms itself into petroleum is still very hard to say. It is believed that various types of microscopic, single-celled organism, both plants and animals, which can conveniently live and grow without oxygen, are the source of petroleum. Some chemists have succeeded in making paraffins in the laboratory out of fish-wastes. This has made some scientists believe that the bigger sea animals and fishes are also the source of petroleum. In spite of that most of them are of opinion that the single-celled microscopic anaerobic organisms are the real source of petroleum. Billions of such micro-organisms are found at the bottom of the sea. When by some natural phenomena, they, before complete decomposition, are suddenly buried, by some bio-chemical and chemical actions these organic matters are converted into oil. They are therefore, considered to be the probable source of petroleum.

Samples of earth from some hilly area where "euxinic" i.e. sea-bottom conditions prevail—in other words, which was once under the sea, but due to some natural phenomena, like earth-quake or volcanic action, has now become a mountain or a hill—by chemical and physical examination, have been found to contain hydro-carbons. It has also been found that these microscopic, single-celled, anaerobic bacteria are capable of breaking albumen and cellulose and to completely eliminate oxygen and nitrogen out of them and to transform them into fatty acids. It is also probable that these fatty acids area, in course of time, transformed into petroleum by inorganic processes.

GEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

It has been previously mentioned that the micro-organisms generally found at the bottom of the sea, is the probable source of petroleum. It is therefore, the places which represent the sea-bottom condition, which contains minerals possessing affinity to paraffin or Hydro-carbon group, such as, the existence of fossils of sea animals, rock salt deposits, bitumen

deposits, asphalt deposits, nummulitic limestone deposits, Bitumen shale or oil shale*, attract the first attention of the Geologists. There are places where a very small quantity of oil is found to seep out to the surface of the earth through rock fissures and be lost. There are also places where marsh gas (methane or natural gas), carbon dioxide or hydrogen sulphide has been found to come out through rock-joints. Jawalamukhi area in the Kangra district (East Punjab) is one of such places nearest to us. Such places also attract the attention of the Geologists. (see diagram 1 and 2.)

OIL RESERVOIR

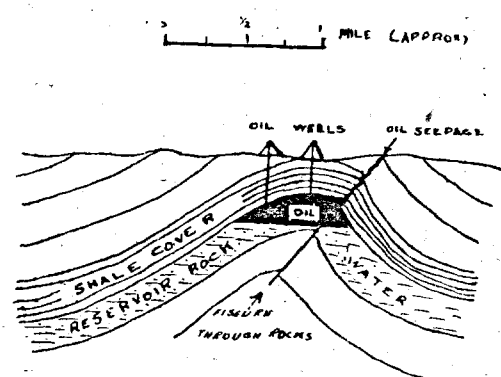


Diagram No. 1. From "Indian Minerals." SECTION TO ILLUSTRATE IMPORTANCE OF EVIDENCE FROM DISTANT

0 1 2 3 MILES (APPROX)

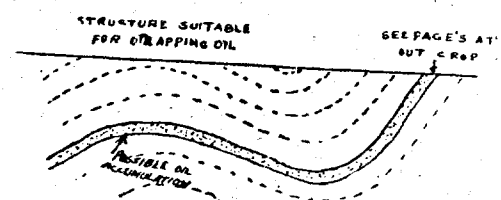


Diagram No. 2. From "Indian Minerals." MIGRATION OF PETROLEUM

* BITUMINOUS SHALE OR OIL-SHALE is black or dark brown in colour and contains natural hydrocarbons from which crude petroleum can be obtained by distillation. It gives a brown streak and has a "leathery" appearance, with a tendency to curl when cut: parting planes often look smooth and polished. The oil-shale can "produce cruid oil and ammonia."—BLYTH.

It has been found that at some places where most of the surface indications as previously stated, exist, but only a few are missing, and no petroleum could be found. It has also been found that at some places where all the surface indications existed but no petroleum. On the contrary, there are places where no surface indication exists, but petroleum could be found underneath. The reason for this unusual happening is the migration of petroleum from its source rock. When on account of some physical causes, rock load or pressure or both develop on the source rock, it gets squeezed and compacted, petroleum is forced to come out of it and to start migration. Once it is squeezed out, rock load ceases to work on it, and other physical causes like surface tension, gravity, hydrostatic pressure and pressure of gases—which due to high temperature inside the Earth's crust, constantly increases in volume and exert more pressure all around—work on it and petroleum, continues its migration through the voids of sands, minute pore spaces of sandstone and joints and crevices of dolomite and limestone. Wherever it gets an opening, it seeps out to the surface and get wasted, and otherwise, accumulates in the more porous rocks, especially if there are over—and underlain by impervious strata. If the bed of the porous rock is already filled with water, the oil being of lower specific gravity, i.e. lighter than water* will rise in the anticline and will actually float on water. Gas at times, is found to occupy the crest. (see diagram 1 to 5).

MUD VOLCANOES

It has been mentioned previously that due to abnormal heat inside the earth, liquid substances are transformed into gases and gases expand in volume. Thus the pressure of the gas is constantly on the increase. When the pressure is more than the power of resistance of the top crust, it bursts out in volcanic eruption. Sometimes it does not actually burst out, but the roof rises only up to some height. When the power of resistance of the

roof is more than the pressure exerted by gas from the bottom, it assumes the shape of a cap or a dome, or a cone. If there be a thick strata of clay or

DIAGRAMMATIC SECTIONS SHOWING THE ACCUMULATION OF OIL AND GAS IN THREE COMMON TYPES OF TRAP STRUCTURE

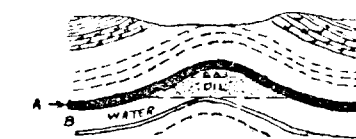


Diagram No. 3.

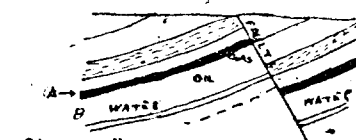


Diagram No. 4.



Diagram No. 5.

A, the Impervious Cap, Rock, B, the reservoir rock (Based on Nehleton, Geophysical prospecting for Oil).

shale on top, they gradually get squeezed and compacted and becomes completely impervious*. If there be a strata of sand above the clay or shale strata, the sand particles displace themselves and permit the mud-cap or the dome or the cone to rise further. These are called "mud volcanoes." In course of oil exploration one such mud volcano has been found in U.S.S.R. to rise up 250 feet from the bottom. When there is a thick solid rock strata on top of these mud caps, the rising action stops as stated above and betrays no indication of this internal changes, on the earth's surface. Though the crest of such a mud cap in the ideal position for an oil-well, it is always a most difficult task for a Geologist to trace it.

* The size of a particle of clay mineral is 1/1500th part of an inch i.e. of a size between .0016 and .0017 millimeter. When they are compacted the inter-molecular spaces become too small to permit anything to pass through. Thus it becomes impervious.

* The Specific Gravity of petrol is—.68, of kerosene—.81, of diesel oil—.83 to .86, of mobil oil—.88, of cruid oil—.88, of water—1.00, of saline water—1.03.

This type of mud volcanoes is at times, found to occur below the sea level and rise above the water in the shape of small islands, where the sea is not very deep. As these islands are of mud, they soon melt and get washed out by the sea water. The gas escapes and the island vanishes within a few days. The nearest place from us, where such phenomena at times, can be seen is the sea near Arakan islands.

Due to this abnormal static pressure created by the accumulated gas at a high temperature, it sometimes so happens that when an oil-hole is drilled through, oil rushes out through it and it makes it very difficult for some time to fix up a pump over the oil-well, and a certain amount of oil gets wasted. The writer had such an experience at Baragolai in Assam, where in 1926-27 The Assam Oil Coy. drilled two wells. The other one was a "wild cat."

GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTING

It is not within the scope of the Geophysicists to ascertain and predict whether there is petroleum anywhere or not. They, under some favourable circumstances, can definitely ascertain and locate different rock strata and formations and thus interpret their location miles below the Earth's surface. It may also happen at times, that there is a good accumulation of petroleum underneath, but a few strata of clay and/or rock of recent origin have completely blanketed the area in the middle and thus wiping out all surface indications whatsoever. Happenings like this can be detected by Geophysical investigation leading to the ultimate discovery of an oil-field.

In mud volcano formations, the layer of clay at the crest becomes very much compacted; but such compaction gradually diminishes as the distance from the crest increases, and it becomes very much less a few thousand feet apart. Things like these are detected by Geophysical prospecting, and a most favourable position for an oil-well can thus be located.

With the advancement of science, new methods are being invented for the discovery of oil-fields. There are 3 main Geophysical methods now adopted. They are (a) GRAVITATIONAL METHOD, (b) ELECTRICAL

METHOD, and (c) SEISMIC METHOD. They being too technical and complicated matters for the general public, are simply touched here.

In the Gravitational method, an extremely sensitive torsion balance is used to measure minute variation in the force of gravity over a certain area. "These variations are interpreted in terms of probable rock-mass distribution underground; thus a large anticline, the core of which is denser than its flanks, has at the surface above it, an area of slightly increased gravity."

There are more than one electrical methods developed "depending in principle on comparative measurements of electric resistivity and inductance of rocks." When an oil-well has been drilled to a short depth, electric current is made to pass through it and the resistivity and inductance of the rock down below are recorded. From this the probable existence of different classes of rock and their position are ascertained.

The seismic method has recently been proved to be successful in the discovery of two oil-fields at Texas in U.S.A.*

OIL FIELDS

It has already been stated that petroleum leaves its source rock, migrates and settles elsewhere under some mud-capped domes, cones or anticlines. The surface of the earth under which such an exploitable oil-reservoir exists, is the ideal place for an oil-field. Mud-capped dome or anticline exists under all the oil-fields all over, such as Burma, Assam, Atak, Baku, Mesopotamia, Trinidad etc. In the opinion of Dr. S. K. Roy such condition exists under Mandi State and Kangra District in the East Punjab.(†)

(*) American Reporter dated 13-6-1951.

(†) The only place near the Indo-Gangetic plain where petroleum deposits have so far been traced are Jawalamukhi area and the Mandi State. *** It is a well known fact that oil deposits usually occur in silted up estuarine regions, running parallel to the folded mountain chains and especially in those on the convex side of the mountain chains. The Indo-Gangetic plain is such an estuarine deposit occurring along the convex side of the Himalayan Mountain chain. Other such estuarine deposits are those of Baku, Mesopotamia and the Irrawadi basin etc. Dr. S. K. Roy Ph. D., (Zurich.) F.N.I.)

OIL-WELLS

To discuss the method, process, technic or the Mechanical Engineering side of well-drilling is not within the scope of this article. It will simply be dealt with from the point of view of oil prospecting. When the Geologists can forecast the probable location of an oil reservoir, oil-wells are bored at site. Drilling an oil-well is not an easy job like the tube well boring for water supply. The usual depth to which an oil-well is usually bored is from 2,500 ft. to a few miles. For example, in 1948 an oil-well was drilled down to 17,832 ft. at Wyoming (U.S.A.), but no oil could be found. The Geologists were of opinion that the well must be drilled down to 20,000 ft. or more to reach oil reservoir. In the following year, in California, a well was drilled down to 18,734 ft. but it proved to be a dry one or a "wild cat" as the yankee drillers nickname it. In July-August of the same year, the Superior Oil Coy. Inc. got a well drilled in Sublette County, Wyoming, down to 20,521 ft. to reach the oil reservoir.

In the plains a 100 ft. tube well costs about Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8 per foot run. A 500 to 600 ft. deep tube well drilled through rock strata costs Rs. 30 to Rs. 32 per foot run. The cost per foot run increases many times more with the increase of the depth. This will show that this is quite a costly game. Well-drilling is taken recourse to only when all other scientific methods of investigations indicate favourable possibility. In spite of that 88 to 90 per cent wells ultimately prove to be "wild cats". At the same time, this is also a fact that only one successful oil-well out of every 10, is quite capable to return good dividend after writing off the entire expenditure so far incurred and that also within a short span of a few months.

Further, before a drop oil is raised and refined, a complete middle sized modern township is to be built, including offices, stores, machinery and material yards, hospital, schools, residential quarters, roads, market, post and telegraph offices, recreation grounds, clubs, water and electric supply arrangements, drainage etc. When all these are viewed from a financial

angle, it will be clear to every body that oil industry demands a few crore of rupees as working capital with ability and psychological aptitude to take risk and gamble.

EFFORTS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Before dealing with the activities of the department since the advent of independence, I may be pardoned for writing a few lines on the probable petroleum resources lying hidden and untapped under Mandi State and the Kangra District, covering about 100 miles area. Within a few miles from the Hydro-Electric Generating Station at Jogindernagar, just on the left side of the Jogindernagar-Mandi road, there is a huge rock salt deposit being worked out by the local people in a crude way for the last 100 years. At Monali, about 50 miles north-east of Jogindernagar, there are a few hot-water springs just below the temple known as "Wasisth Rikhi ka ashram". In the temple of "Ambika Devi" at Jawalamukhi—which is about 50 miles west of Jogindernagar—there are 5 or 6 points from which combustible gas is leaking out. In addition to these, there are asphalt, bitumen and Nummulitic limestone deposit in the area. All these indicate probable existence of petroleum underneath. This valuable oil resources is not being tapped only for want of financial resources. Import of food grain is the greatest drain on the resources of the Government. With their due importance, the multipurpose projects stand next. It is under the circumstances, quite questionable whether Government can conveniently take such a big financial burden on it. The business magnates of the country like Tata, Birla, Walchand, Dalmia, and Jain should combine themselves and tap these resources. The big business men of the Punjab like Lala Shri Ram, Karam Chand Thapar and Lala Singh Bedi have their share of responsibility in the matter.

The Government, however, is not unmindful in the matter and the following are the details of the activity of the Geological Survey of India, since advent of independence.

Since 1911, there was a rumour at Saundatti, in Belgaum district, Bombay,

that there is oil in a well near Jama-dagni Gudi temple. In 1948, departmental investigation revealed that the well was dug in quartzite and no trace of oil could be found. Perhaps, it was the part of the lubricating oil applied in the machineries used for the excavation of the well, gave rise to this belief.

An appreciable activity of the department was noticed in the year 1950, though nothing appears to have been done in 1949. This year explorations were carried out at Balipara and in the Abor Hills area in Assam, without any effective result.

Investigations were also carried out in the Bijoi Raj estate area in Goalpara district in Assam. The substance which was found to be floating on water was iron hydroxide.

The National Oil-Mining and Refining Syndicate of Calcutta, have taken some land on lease in the Khashi Hill State in Assam for oil mining. In this area there is already an oil-well drilled down to some depth in the year 1910. The firm sought the aid of the department for further exploration. The oil-Geologists of the department could trace out a few places where oil is seeping out. Conditions of the superficial strata and their dips etc. convinced them of the necessity of drilling a number of oil-wells sufficiently deep. This, in their opinion, is a risky undertaking.

When the foundation of a building in the Bombay Port Trust area was excavated down only to 6 to 8 feet, plenty of oil was found to be accumulating there. In all about a lac gallons of oil was recovered. Investigation of the department revealed that there are some buried pipe lines at a distance of about 40 feet from the place, through which oil is being transported. During Bombay Dock explosion these pipes got cracked, though oil was leaking.

In two wells in Cutch some oily substance was found to be floating on water. Departmental investigation proved this to be oxide of iron and not petroleum.

Similar investigations were made in Shyamchurashi and in surrounding 4 or 5 villages in Hoshiarpur district, East Punjab, and it was found that the sub-

stance which has been found floating, is originated from the decomposition of vegetable matters.

Investigations were also carried out in Lukhimpur Kheri in U.P. with no results*.

The Press Trust of India in its report dated 15-5-1951, informs that a small oil-field has been discovered at the foot of Okhal Donga Hill, 50 miles off Kathmandu. Four big business firms of Nepal have combined themselves to tap this oil resources. The area has been leased out for 100 years on the term that they will pay a royalty at 3 per cent from the date the firm will actually produce oil. It is expected under the present circumstances, it will produce 500 gallons a day.

Mr. Shri Prakash, the Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Investigation, the Government of India, in his statement in the Parliament on 26-5-1951, said that the Indian Geologists have found low grade petroleum in the Naga Hills area, Assam, but no further information can be given until some boring has been done.

Petroleum has been traced in the Pathuria Hill area at the border of Assam and East Pakistan. Some border dispute is still going on about the area between two Governments. Petroleum has also been traced in the Pakistan area and the Assam Oil Company has shifted some machinery to this area from Assam.

Though this type of expensive explorations are being extensively carried out, nothing further could be done under the present financial circumstances. However, it can be stated with some amount of certainty that in the near future, when we shall be self-supporting in foodstuff and our Multi-purpose projects will near completion, it will not take us very long to properly tap our oil resources and be self-sufficient. The Government of India should do well in bringing some specialist Oil-Geologists, Geophysicists and Technologists under Point Four programme to help further this important and most useful exploration.

* Collected from the reports of the Geological Survey of India, 1948 and 1950.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

BY PROF. S. RAMASWAMI, M.A.

OXFORD University, not so very long ago, was affectionately hailed by Matthew Arnold as the home of lost causes. And when after having been appointed to succeed Dr. Estlin Carpenter as Professor of Comparative Religion at Oxford, Dr. Radhakrishnan was invited in 1935 to hold the newly-established Spalding Chair of



DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Eastern Religions and Ethics, there were not wanting those who rejoiced that at long last Eastern Religions and Ethics, had secured world-wide recognition as a lost cause. Whatever the mood of those who, in the West, rejoiced thus, in the East, at any rate the appointment was viewed with somewhat mixed feelings. Some feared that in the Oxford High Church atmosphere, Eastern religions and Ethics, even with Dr. Radhakrishnan as their

interpreter, would get distorted and misrepresented. There were others who felt that one chair for the many religions and ethical systems evolved through the ages in the East was so utterly inadequate as almost to constitute a slur on their importance and significance to the world at large. But with the delivery of his famous inaugural lecture, later published under the title "The world's Unborn Soul", many of these misgivings were dissipated. Dr. Radhakrishnan showed himself—as he always does—acutely aware of the contemporary atmosphere of intellectual unrest and moral despair and of his task as Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in relation to the pervasive intellectual and moral chaos. He told his distinguished audience that even the total collapse of a civilization based upon the audacities of speculative doubt and moral impressionism, uninspired by a sense of the abiding values of life was not to be lamented. He heartened the world, firmly asserting his own intuitive conviction, based on a deep study of the wisdom of the ancient East and of the somewhat less ancient West, that the grey beginnings of the grand dawn of a true kingdom of the spirit were discernible even amid all the alarms and excursions of the time, and that, in another sense than Kipling's, there was neither East nor West but that there was a secret spirit in the world unifying man and man, and man and Nature, of which philosophers were the chosen hierophants. He laid forth, thus, what seemed on the surface a rather large claim but it was a claim uniquely backed and, indeed, blessed by tradition. Radhakrishnan was only the latest of the sages from the East bidding the West prepare for the Kingdom of the Spirit, bidding the West indeed to hearken to the repeated call 'to cast all aside and follow Me', the Me being the 'Self' or spirit which is in all men and in all Nature. The first fruits of that mission when published under the title "Eastern Religions and Western thought," were hailed as marking a turning-point in the history of Western civilization—truly a unique tribute to a collection of university lectures!

Such however was the authority or rather the influence Radhakrishnan exerted over intellectual life and thought at Oxford that other honours came to him almost unnoticed by the world, unnoticed because, while these were unique, each of them considered apart, they seemed hardly to add to his stature, while doubtless it must have been gratifying to the various bestowers of honours that Dr. Radhakrishnan deigned to accept them. For well over a decade, Dr. Radhakrishnan has been one of the few whose words men pause to listen to, whether he speaks on the grave dangers threatening the very existence of mankind or on what he would regard as foundational thereto, problems of education and even the details of university organization and administration. And to-day, he is the chosen Ambassador of India, not merely to Russia,—that is merely incidental—but to the whole civilized world outside India. For he speaks not merely with the authority of the glorious tradition established aeons ago by the seers of India but also with the authority of the new India, new in being old and true to her ancient tradition, the new, free, forthright India Gandhiji has recreated by his unique *tapas*, out of the sufferings and humiliations of recent times. And he speaks with a blend of mildness and firmness in manner which is altogether compelling and altogether his own. Imagine the stature of the man who could tell the United Nations that in seeking, in their blundering, blustering way, to vindicate a so-called principle, heedless of the counsel of sanity and true peace that came from India's spokesmen, they had almost destroyed a people! Not so very long ago, he told the peoples and Governments of the West playing at intellectual co-operation that a world which tolerated the causeless and continued incarceration of a Gandhi was either stupid or wicked. For the incarceration of Gandhiji was no less than an attempt at the incarceration and crucifixion of the spirit of Man, doomed to fail doubtless, but showing the depth of folly or wickedness or folly and wickedness to which the western world had sunk. General Marshall hearing of Gandhiji's martyrdom, spoke of Gandhiji as the voice of the conscience of huma-

nity. By keeping Gandhiji in humiliating duress so long, while apparently fighting for the freedom of man, Britain and the nations under her lead perpetrated an act of the most outrageous hypocrisy seeking actually to stifle their own conscience.

Radhakrishnan has been a great interpreter to the world of Gandhiji, who may be reckoned as embodying, in a twentieth century setting, India's age-long and truly ageless message, the message of *satya*, *abhaya* and *shanti*. The bond between Radhakrishnan and Gandhiji—while apparently, as the world saw it, slight and tenuous, was deep and strong. Indeed it could hardly have been otherwise. For while Gandhiji's life was, as Gibbon claimed of Marcus Aurelius in relation to Zeno, the best commentary on the teaching of Hinduism, his thought and technique required to be explained to the critical and almost hostile western world, in terms of that world's spiritual experience and tradition and Radhakrishnan as a philosophical 'bilingualist' of unmatched distinction was almost the indispensable liaison officer between Gandhiji and the West. Though Joad was somewhat in error in hailing Radhakrishnan as 'the counter-attack from the East'—Gandhiji was that, without doubt—Radhakrishnan was the chief exponent of the philosophy and the perennial philosophic wisdom which inspired the attack on the delusive values that delighted the West and the false glitter of which seemed to enthrall the East, nay, indeed, to overwhelm it quite. Gandhiji's technique of revolution through suffering patiently undergone by oneself received a famous exposition at Oxford, at the hands of Dr. Radhakrishnan, an exposition, which, reports have it, kept the Oxford audience in tears all the while.

There is a unique but hardly deliberately contrived coincidence involved in the fact that Radhakrishnan is not merely the greatest living interpreter of India and of Gandhiji but the greatest living interpreter of perhaps India's most significant historical figure and Gandhiji's great spiritual ancestor, Buddha. Radhakrishnan's interpretation of Buddha's message to the

modern world has served not merely to dissipate the barriers so sedulously sought to be erected between Buddhism and Hinduism by some western interpreters of Buddhism, but to ensure the wider recognition of love as the true antidote to the organized mass hatreds that form the stuff of the international politics of these times. Sir Francis Younghusband hailed Radhakrishnan's lecture to the British Academy on Gautama Buddha as a lecture on a master-mind by a master-mind. That was a very just—and no more than just—estimate.

Radhakrishnan—though it would be difficult to credit it—is now on what the world commonly regards as the wrong side of sixty. But the message which he bears to the world is truly ageless—even as seems his own mind. The power of Radhakrishnan's mind has on many occasions, caused wonder and amazement to his readers and listeners all over the world. But the splendid amplitude and vigour with which it has been applied ceaselessly to the cause of true peace and true understanding in the world are no longer matter for wonder. They are taken to be among the world's greatest instruments of fellowship and reconciliation. That so many distinguished scholars and philosophers, Eastern and Western, have come together to do him honour in the form of the *estschrift* volume of comparative studies in philosophy under review, is doubtless deeply gratifying. But truly it is a matter of more pride to us all, whether of the East or of the West, that we are fellow-human beings with him and his contemporaries and that we are blest with the privilege and opportunity of being his disciples in the service of the cause of peace and understanding and the establishment of the kingdom of the spirit in the hearts and the hearths of all mankind. May it be given to him, under God's grace, to lead us always with that moral strength and spiritual insight which have been so uniquely his, and to be with us for many many more years, truly, the guide, philosopher and friend, not of this or that people alone but of mankind in general. And for our part,

we shall cherish his truly memorable achievement as but an earnest of glorious achievements still to come and this volume* brought out with such care and devotion to Radhakrishnan's ideals and personality as a concrete symbol and record of his greatness and as a source of inspiration. For it is not a mere garland of tributes to the man Radhakrishnan as such volumes usually are but a collection of studies of first rate quality exploring with wisdom and insight problems such as Radhakrishnan has during these rich eventful years tackled though. Prof. Burt's thoughtful essay on the problem of a World Philosophy and Professor Hirianna's brilliant essay on Art Experience stand out as particularly distinguished contributions in a volume rich in food for the mind and spirit of man.

* Comparative Studies in Philosophy presented to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Allen & Unwin, London.

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THE CRISIS IN INDIAN INDUSTRY

By MR. AUSTIN A. D'SOUZA, M.A. B.T., DIP. ED. (Lond.) A.I.E. (Lond.)

THE recent spate of strikes and labour troubles, the increasing unemployment, the shortage of consumer goods, the unchecked inflation, and the steady rise in the cost of living index are all symptoms of the deep-seated malaise that has seized Indian industry since the attainment of independence four years ago. This widespread decline over the whole industrial field is doubtless partly the inevitable aftermath of the industrial boom of the War period; when the factories hummed with activity and money flowed into the pockets of the capitalists and workers, and of the change over from war-time to peace-time production. The present industrial crisis however, cannot be explained away as a mere natural depression in the working of the trade cycle; Indian industrialists have had over three years to adapt themselves to post-war conditions, yet there is no indication that they have been able to do anything to check a depression which is fast becoming a rot. Indian industry is today in the doldrums, with the Government pulling one way, the capitalists another, and the workers a third, with the consumers as the helpless spectators and victims of this three cornered tug-of-war.

The present crisis in industry is, perhaps, the most serious one industrial India has ever faced; its seriousness is increased a hundred fold by the fact that not only the future of Industry but the future of Free India is bound up with it. Until and unless the crisis is overcome by a superhuman effort on the part of the three senior partners—Government, Capitalists and Labour—with the support and goodwill of the people at large—Freedom will remain a mere ideal, impossible of attainment.

India has now enjoyed three years of freedom. During this brief period much progress has been made towards making political liberty a reality for all her people, but, unfortunately, progress towards economic liberty has lagged far behind and every advance towards political liberty has been accompanied by an almost parallel step backwards on the road to economic stagnation. Political liberty must be based on economic self-

sufficing and a minimum standard of living for the masses, else it will be a mockery, the shadow without the substance; the present prolonged and acute industrial depression is not only ruining industry but impoverishing the country as a whole, sapping her human wealth, and destroying the foundation of her newly-won political independence.

The situation is extremely critical. The years 1946-48 were among the leanest in India's industrial history; there has been some measure of recovery in 1949 in the production of coal, steel, tea and aluminium, and a number of new industries—cycles, locomotives, telephones and diesel engines—have been started. But this slight progress has been counter-balanced by a disturbing drop in the production of sugar, cotton and jute which are India's principle manufactures. Many mills and factories have been closed, with a consequent increase in unemployment and an aggravation of the labour problem, and the rising price index (now about 430) and the shortage of consumer goods has lowered the standard of living among all classes, in many cases below the level of health and efficiency, with ill-effects on the country as a whole. Only a revival of industry, and increased agricultural and industrial production, can raise the standard of living; it is an absolute necessity—that this standard of living be raised immediately—so that the people may be able to develop themselves and their country to the fullest possible extent. At present the vast majority of India's unnumbered millions lack even the bare necessities of food and clothing for existence—India cannot hope to grow to be a free and great nation on the starved minds and emaciated bodies of her people.

The raising of the physical and cultural standard of living of the masses is thus the most urgent problem facing her politicians and rulers—a problem that cannot be solved by legislation, by the appointment of learned commissions, or the drawing up of elaborate but unworkable blueprints for the distant future. It must be solved here and now

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by an immediate co-ordinated, total drive for increased production on the agricultural and industrial fronts. Since over 75 per cent of India's millions live in the villages it is on rural development the efforts must primarily concentrate—the industrialization of the villages is vitally necessary—but side by side there must be parallel progress in urban industrialization, if India is to attain a balanced development, and achieve economic self-sufficiency and prosperity.

It must be admitted to the credit of India's first free Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, that they are alive to the urgency of the problem, though inclined to be swamped by its magnitude. The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, in his historic speech on the occasion of the unfurling of India's Flag in the Assembly clearly envisaged the uphill task ahead of the new Government, when he stated bluntly "There will be no complete freedom so long as there is starvation, hunger, lack of clothing, lack of necessities of life, lack of opportunities for growth of a single human being, man, woman or child." Since then there have been no lack of grandiose schemes drawn up by the Central and State legislatures to bring about the millennium by a proper development and use of India's vast agricultural mineral and industrial potential. Unfortunately most of these schemes remain on the government shelves—because there is no money to implement them, and because Indian Capital and labour are hostile to and suspicious of both the Government and each other.

Big Business financed to a large extent, the Congress struggle for freedom and independence. That its motives were not entirely altruistic or patriotic was shown by the way in which it gathered round for the pickings as soon as the Congress took over the reins of government from the British, at the Centre and in the States. The Congress Governments showed themselves to be ready to accommodate the Capitalists up to a point, realized they could not build the New India without their support; but they were by no means willing to favour them at the expense of the masses. The more progressive section

of the Congress, led by the Prime Minister, realized clearly that India's ultimate salvation would lie in some form of socialism, and the slogan of "Nationalization" was raised. Capital, both native and foreign, at once withdrew into its shell: and, in spite of later promises on the part of Government to go slow with Nationalization, and concessions of all types to big business, India's capitalists prefer to hoard their capital, while the Middle classes (who usually provide a large part of a nation's investment capital) have none to invest, as all their savings have been wiped out by the rising spiral of inflation. Labour in the past three years, too, have grown more and more hostile both to the Capitalists and to the Government, whom they accuse of being on the side of the former, and stirred up by political agitators, is tending to assert its demands by force. The Government, the industrialists, and the workers are all at cross purposes, and an almost complete deadlock in the industrial scene is the result.

The roots of this deadlock are many, complex, and deep-seated. A wide-spread feeling of insecurity is psychologically responsible for much of the present industrial malaise. The Capitalists, frightened by the threat of "Nationalization," have no confidence in the "Go Slow" promises of the Government in power and are too selfish to put the interests of the country before their own. The workers have no confidence in the government or in their employers, and the public at large lack confidence in any of the three parties. Insecurity, and the fear it engenders, coupled with the class hatred preached by the Communists, has aggravated considerably the age-old hostility between capital and labour. The former concerned only with their profits treat their workers as a means not an end, and this exploitation has lent weight to the Communist theory that Capital and Labour are natural and irreconcilable enemies, and that industrial peace and progress can only be achieved by liquidating the former. Trade Unionism which should integrate or effect a peaceful solution to the Labour problems in India has so far only worsened it. Indian Trade Unions are not only young, immature and inexperienced, but they are dominated

not by Labour but by political leaders who use the weapons of the union such as strikes etc., for political ends, and not to promote the welfare of their members. The result is that the existing Unions deliberately increase the hostility between the Capitalists and workers, instead of trying to bridge the gap between them by arbitration and compromise. So far, too, they have concentrated on the negative aspects of a Trade Union's activities and neglected their positive task of raising the moral, cultural and technical ability of the workers and promoting their all round development as a means to greater efficiency and increased production, which alone can make higher wages and a better standard of living possible and justifiable.

Besides these defects in the general background of the Industrial scene, there are also more specific deficiencies. There is a grave lack not only of capital, but of raw materials, modern machinery, Power, adequate transport, skilled labour and the facilities for training it, which are the nerves and sinews of modern industry—and also a sad lack of vision and the desire to launch out in new ventures on the part of the entre preneurs and big business men. Excessive concentration of large scale modern industries in half a dozen towns—Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and Delhi beyond the point of economic advantage is another major defect, leading as it does to the inevitable economic and social diseases of cut-throat competition, exploitation, overcrowding, disease and malnutrition, vice and misery. "Underfed, like animals without light or air the industrial worker in India is one of the most exploited in all the world of industrial exploitation." Grave neglect of small scale cottage industries, which have been driven out of existence for the most part by the standardized products of the large urban factories has not only upset the stability of rural economy, but caused India's industrial expansion to proceed in an unbalanced and lopsided fashion. Finally there has been lacking the recently an overall plan to coordinate and integrate the post-war development and reconstruction schemes of the Centre and the States which has resulted in much overlapping, duplication and wastage.

The present crisis in the industrial field in India is the net result of these, and other collateral causes. The situation is grave and the necessity for some common meeting ground, either of self-interest or the welfare of the nation, on which the three partners in Industry, the Government, the Capitalists and the workers and the public can co-operate wholeheartedly for the common good, is urgent. The Government has attempted to give a lead to the country by appointing a special Planning Commission of official and non-official experts to draw up an All-India plan to co-ordinate the resources of the Centre and the States, and to plan the best possible organization of the factors of production with a view to promoting the balanced development of the country as a whole. The planning Commission, working in conjunction with existing Governmental bodies such as the "Central Council of Industries," the "Cottage Industries Board," the "Scientific and Technical Manpower Committee" and the appropriate departments of the Central and State governments, and also with industrialists, trade unions, and other interested parties, has already issued its draft plan for the future agricultural and industrial development in India, in which it has made an estimate of what resources she has, how they can best be utilized and what new sources of capital, raw materials and power will have to be tapped to make good existing deficiencies. To win the co-operation of the Indian and foreign Capitalists, Government has promised to postpone nationalization for a period of ten years, made tax concessions, and removed existing import and export barriers, besides appealing to them in their own self interest, and for the good of their country to cease exploiting the workers and to make use of their idle capital. The fundamental rights of Labour have also been the subject of much legislation recently—the latest being the Fair Wage Bill which has laid down the duty of capitalists to pay their workers a fair wage, defined as "that which ensures to the employee the means to provide a standard family with food, shelter and clothing and also

medical expenses as well as the education of their children appropriate to their state in life." Government will have to find ways and means of enforcing such legislation, however before they can hope to kindle any confidence in the workers, or convince them the Government is not backing the Capitalists but that is anxious to secure for them a living wage. Trade Unionism in India must be made non-political, and should aim not only at obstructing or fighting the capitalists, but at finding common ground for co-operation between them and the workers to the mutual benefit of both; in addition they should concentrate on improving the educational background and technical skill of the workers with a view to increased production, increased profits, higher wages, and a varied standard of living for the workers. Government, the Capitalists, the workers and the public must co-operate to remedy existing deficiencies in transport, raw materials, power, machinery and the lack of trained technicians to man India's growing industries, and there must be a more economical dispersal of existing industries in various parts of India to prevent excessive concentration and a lopsided industrial development.

Above all future industrial planning in India must not attempt to slavishly copy the methods and objectives of the foremost industrial countries such as the U.K. or the U. S. A. where conditions are very different, but should be adapted to the peculiar conditions and circumstances that

obtain in India. Any scheme for a balanced industrial development in India must concentrate both on the small scale cottage industries of the villages and the large scale urban industries of the towns. The former are probably more important as three fourths of India's population live in the villages and hence national economic progress and prosperity will depend very largely on the rehabilitation of village life. The rapid development of cottage industries, through supplying villagers with cheap power, efficient and easily worked machinery, adequate raw materials and proper marketing facilities for their wares should be the first priority of industrial planners, to raise the standard of living of the villagers and make the villages themselves economically self-sufficient and prosperous. An All-India Cottage Industries Board recently set up by the Government of India is attending to this vital matter, and it is hoped it will soon give a tremendous stimulus to the regrowth of cottage industries in India. But while these are of prime importance, urban large scale industry is equally in need of a parallel development in order to meet the material needs of her millions, and to increase rapidly the total wealth of the country, which is negligible compared to that of any progressive country and to her vast population.

The Industrial problem is the most immediate and urgent problem facing the present Government. Upon its solution depends the future peace, progress and happiness of the people of India.

TANTIA TOPI

BY PROF. PHANIBHUSAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THERE began in India in 1857 some events which shook the very foundations of the sub-continent. The British described them as a mutiny while the people of the country look upon them as the First War of Independence. With the object of driving the invaders out of India Hindus and Muslims fought together under the leadership of a gallant band of patriots among whom the most conspicuous were Nana Sahib, the Begum of Oudh, Khan Bahadur Khan of

Bareilly, Ahmad Shah, Kumar Singh, Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia, Topi etc.

Tantia Topi was in the service of Nana Sahib in the grade of aide-de-camp or companion. Nana Sahib claimed to be, and in his countrymen's eyes actually was, the adopted heir of the last of the Peshwas. Besides, he was related closely to many of the southern Maratha chiefs. As such he had a position of very great influence in the country, and was potentially gravely dangerous to the British,

It appears from Tantia Topi's voluntary deposition or statement taken in camp Moshairi on the 10th of April 1859 that Nana Sahib was at first on the side of the English in the uprising of 1857 and Tantia Topi, too, in obedience to him, helped the English as far as he could under the circumstances. But later on Nana Sahib joined the patriots and helped them effectively. Tantia Topi took a leading part in various battles, always in compliance with the orders of Nana Sahib or the Rao Sahib his nephew.

With the full approval of his superior, the Rao Sahib, Tantia Topi held an army of 22,000 men and 28 guns in response to an appeal from the Rani of Jhansi, against Sir Hugh Rose who had then laid siege to Jhansi. In spite of his superiority in numbers Tantia was defeated in the battle that ensued on April, 1, 1858 and fled to Kalpi. The Rani of Jhansi met the Rao Sahib there and at the latter's request Tantia Topi accompanied the queen with a force to battle. This time too he was defeated and fled. Later, the Rao Sahib being defeated at the battle of Kalpi, arrived at Gopalpur where Tantia Topi joined him. Henceforth Tantia Topi had a chequered career, first in the company of the Rao Sahib and later alone, fighting Indian chiefs like the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior who stood on their way and baffling all the efforts of the English who tried to capture him. In the course of his forced marches Tantia crossed the Narbadda into Nagpur territory in October 1858; and "in the dying agony of the mutiny was accomplished a movement, which carried out twelve months earlier would have produced an effect fatal for the time to British supremacy.....The nephew of the man recognised by the Marathas as the lawful heir of the last reigning Peshwa was, on Maratha soil with an army!" (Col. Malleon).

But fortune was against Tantia Topi and he was gradually cordoned about completely in December 1858. Tantia emerged from the jungles, baffled Major Locke and marched away closely followed by the English. Gradually, due to successive defeats the patriotic band dispersed and only ManSingh was left as his companion in the Paron jungles. Sir Robert

Napier succeeded in winning ManSingh over to his side on the 2nd of April 1859 when he surrendered to the British. ManSingh being worked upon by the British resolved to betray Tantia Topi even for the chance of a consideration. "I have done all I could by kind and even counsel to urge him to establish, by so signal an act of service" (the betrayal of Tantia Topi), "his claim to the consideration of Government, promised him by Sir R. Hamilton in his telegram", wrote Major Meade to Sir R. Napier.

At midnight on the 7th of April 1859 ManSingh came to Tantia's hiding place. Asleep Tantia was seized and conveyed to Meade's camp. He was courtmartialled being charged with having been in rebellion and having waged war against the British Government between June 1857 and December 1858 in some specific instances. Tantia's defence was simple: "I only obeyed in all things that I did, my master's orders, i.e., the Nana's orders, up to the capture of Kalpi; and afterwards those of Rao Sahib. I have nothing to state except that I have had nothing to do with the murder of any European, men, women or children; neither had I, at any time, given orders for anyone to be hanged." Tantia Topi was sentenced to be hanged and the sentence was carried out on the 18th of April at Sipri.

Col. Malleon comments on this sentence thus: "Tantia Topi was no born servant of the English rule. At the time of his birth about the year 1812—his master was the independent ruler of a large portion of western India. . . . He, a retainer of the Ex-Peshwa's family, was charged with fighting against the English. Surely, under the circumstances of the case, the punishment was greater than the offence. The clansman had obeyed his lord, and had fought with fair weapons."

Tantia Topi was a hero to his countrymen, resisting the foreign dominant nation in a manner calling forth extraordinary exertions and in the nooks and corners of the valleys of the Chambal, the Narbada and the Parbati, as in other parts of the country, his name is mentioned with respect and affection.

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

BY SRI V. R. NATARAJAN

—(O)—

TODAY India is facing a grave crisis.

Her economy is seriously out of order. She is deficient in food. She is ill-equipped industrially. Her imports are far greater than her exports for which she cannot pay fully. We are thus faced with the urgent task of preventing an economic catastrophe from overtaking the country. To achieve this end the economic system of the country has to be properly balanced to secure full employment and raise the standard of living of the masses. "But any programme which does not aim at forging the component parts of the country into a co-ordinated system" will only aggravate the trouble and land us into a morass. Such a programme needs action in the following directions:—

(1) *Self-sufficiency in the food requirements of the people.* To-day India lacks at least 10 per cent of her food requirements. She had to import no less than 3 million tons of food grains in 1948-49 from all over the world and has been compelled to take steps to import even larger quantities in 1949-50. Intensive efforts are being made to reclaim wastelands with the help of tractors and construction of river projects to produce enough food, but these efforts are expected to bear fruit only in 1951. During the intervening period, however, food has to be imported at a heavy cost. If these imports are continued for a long time they will irretrievably shelter the economy of India. Short-term plans are, therefore, indicated to increase subsidiary foods like bananas, sweet potatoes and fish which will reduce our foreign dependence as well as conserve dollars for the purchase of Capital goods.

(2) *Co-ordination of the industrial structure of the country.* This calls for the establishment of many new industries, development of some old ones, nationalisation of basic industries as well as decentralisation of the industrial structure with a view to increasing the employment of unemployed factors in rural areas.

(3) *Covering the gap between exports and imports.* During the years 1918-49 there was a huge deficit of over Rs. 95 crores in India's trade. Such vast deficits cannot be left uncovered. We have to tighten our belts and reduce the imports of consumer goods and luxury articles. Food has to be imported willynilly, capital goods and industrial raw materials have to be given a top priority. At the same time the quality and quantity of exports has to be improved.

(4) *Reducing the cost structure in India.* The partition of India has hit the Indian economy hard. Raw cotton and raw jute which were united India's most paying exports have mainly gone over to Pakistan. As a result, India is now an importer of these two industrial raw materials. Steps must be taken immediately and urgently to lower the cost structure in those units of production in which the country has to build up an international market as well as to improve the quality of exported goods.

(5) *Removing the bottlenecks of transport.* India's population has increased greatly and is still in the process of increasing. An internal trade has also expanded. This has resulted in a vast expansion both in passenger and goods traffic which cannot possibly be shouldered by our existing transport system. Roads, railways and water have all to be developed to carry men and material all over the country.

(6) *Equitable distribution of national income.* Of course, the ideal is not absolute equality of incomes, but equal opportunities for all and equitable distribution of the national income with a minimum standard of living for all and sundry. India needs socialism, which provides for differences according to ability and worth but not inheritance. The tax policy of the Government should help to reduce the inequalities of income.

The ultimate aim of planning in India must be a New Economic Policy which must be a blend of rational capitalism, nationalisation of key industries and co-operative farming. The State must provide

machinery, manures and water to the poor farmer. All this can be done by a full-fledged democratic State responsible to the people. It may be suggested that safeguards should be provided in the constitution so that "absolute power does not corrupt absolutely," the people should have the right of criticism and suggestion.

India is now free. She is one compact whole as she never was before. She is secular in outlook. Planning could

never be successful in the past to the extent it can to-day. Russia to-day is one of the most powerful nations of the world. Indian traditions and problems are different from that of Russia, hence methods used in India must be different. But the Indian problem is of an equal magnitude and India has to be converted from an agrarian into an industrial country while the standards of agriculture have to be raised simultaneously.

AYURVEDA IS A SCIENCE

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL

Eye Specialist, Delhi

THE ancient Indian system of medicine—Ayurveda—has not, for all its success, met with wholesale approval by the modern mind. This must be considered unfortunate, for that system had solid principles behind it. But we cannot put the whole blame on the modern mind, either. Ayurveda cannot rest wholly on its own past: it must satisfy too the tests of a progressive life-force and of the mind of today.

The West's impression is that the philosophy of Indian medicine about life and diseases is something metaphysical and not understandable; that is to say, the philosophy may be sublime but the scientific approach is absent. This is a misrepresentation. India has lived richly and greatly, but with a different view of life from the western, a view not easily understood by the surface intellect but also often held by the Indians without much subtlety and insight.

The Rishis wrote of medicine with a certain kind of direct inner knowledge and summed up the whole philosophy of medicine in one word: TRIDOSHA. Tridosha means three principles to be used in dealing with the disorders of man. To explain these principles they selected three terms of symbols which could be very well understood in terms of physical nature. The three symbols are Vat (wind), Pitta (bile), and kaph (mucous); but as soon as we speak of these terms and try to apply them for

ascertaining the causes, classification, symptoms and treatment of diseases, we find ourselves confused, as the interpretation is different at each place. These terms were used just to simplify the science, though too much simplification has created difficulty in understanding the real spirit behind their explanation.

The symbolic word has a different meaning at each point or place of application. For example, take the word; fire. In the material sense one understands what fire is when wood burns; but fire will have a different meaning when the patient complains that a fire is burning in his body and this means he feels great heat and restlessness. Or the patient complains of the fire of appetite and this means he is very hungry. Or one remarks that he is like fire, and this means that he commands great force and power. Thus at each place the interpretation of fire is different though linked with the symbol. Similarly Vat, Pitta and Kaph are terms used in medicine at different places and the following are some illustrations:

1. EXPULSION OF DOSHA IN MATERIAL FORM: Here mucoid discharge through nose, mouth, eye etc. is Kaph; yellow or bitter discharge as in vomiting faces and urine is called Pitta; belching or any other manifestation of wind is called Vat.

2. FEELING OF DOSHA IN THE BODY BY THE PATIENT OR PHYSICIAN: Feeling

of cold is Kaph; feeling of heat is Pitta; feeling of pain or distension of abdomen is Vat.

3. CAUSES OF DISEASES: Man is composed of a mind to think and will, a vital force to execute the thought and will, and a body to express the thought and will. Here Vat is for mind, Pitta is for vital or life force, and Kaph is for body. A disharmony between the mind, vital force and body, or so to say, between Vat, Pitta and Kaph is the primary cause of most of the illnesses and diseases.

4. CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASES: Here the interpretation is rather different.

Here Vat is for painful and paralytic diseases,

Pitta is for inflammatory diseases,

Kaph is for non-inflammatory diseases, Tridosha is for purulent and degenerative diseases.

Diseases which could not be included in Vat, Pitta and Kaph types of diseases, were named Tridosha. Tridosha does not mean something very serious or that all the doshas are present in a disease. Serious diseases are in each type and all the doshas are present in other types of disorders.

A disease may pass through one or more or all the stages. For example, there is some discomfort at a localized place on the thumb without any sign of inflammation; this is the Kaphaja stage. The discomfort turns into a red pimple showing signs of inflammation; now there is the Pittaja stage. The pimple becomes very painful; that is the Vataja stage. Then pus forms in it and we have the Tridosha stage.

TREATMENT: In the treatment also three main principles have been applied.

1. ELIMINATION (Kaph): Elimination of foreign or toxic matter which may be done through purgatives, enemas, fasting, emetics, diuretics, diaphoretics, errhines, vaccines and serums, operations, lekhana or irritating medicines etc.

2. STIMULATION (Pitta): Stimulation means to improve blood circulation and vitality which may be achieved through deep breathing, exercise, vapour bath, sun treatment, vitamins, suitable diet, tonics, digestives, massage, Ropan or invigorating medicines, Aasans, Injections, Homeopathy etc.

3. RELAXATION (Vat): Relaxation of mind and nerves may be produced by autosuggestion, faith cure, concentration; meditation, relaxation exercises, rest, right use of the organ, fasting, massage, Prasadan or soothing medicines etc. This is how Indian medicine deals with the disorders of the body. Allopathy or so-called modern medicine also works on the same lines. Of course, modern medicine has detailed each part of itself with the help of a highly developed intellect, but both the ancient and modern systems are based on the same principles, hence a synthesis is possible. We must take full account of the potent revelations of modern knowledge and combine them with the luminous secrets of Indian medicine which seem to be veiled. The modern doctor will still find something simple and efficacious in Indian medicine and will be surprised to discover rare secrets worth applying to patients. This combination will enable the modern scientific doctor to have command and confidence in relieving the sufferings of men. I have endeavoured to synthesize the Ancient and Modern medicine for the eye diseases in 'Eye Troubles in old age' (which is available from Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) and this combination has proved a great success.

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 600 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

"The Indian Revolution"

THE fifth year of freedom finds us in a sober and chastened mood—thanks to those inevitable troubles and obstacles which try us and test us and finally prepare us to face new situations with courage and patience and fortitude. The nation's character is being forged on the anvil of such emergencies and shaped by events in a way we may not fully realise in the heat and passion of the day.

It is too soon to attempt to evaluate the change wrought in the history of India by the momentous transaction which culminated in the transference of power from British to Indian hands and the creation of an Indian Republic which followed the declaration of Indian Independence on the 15th of August 1947. The magnitude of the change wrought almost overnight by that supreme act of faith and the tremendous possibilities both for India and the world held out by that single act of statesmanship, albeit so novel and unprecedented in the history of the world, fully justify the title which the author has chosen to give the book.* After a hundred and fifty years of foreign rule and a much larger period of eclipse India stepped into the international arena as an independent nation. As Chanakya rightly points out, if this had meant nothing more than the withdrawal of British power from the Indian sub-continent, it would still be considered one of the most epoch making events in world history.

Indeed what has happened in India, judged by the vastness of the area and population involved and the stupendous consequences—political, social, economic—flowing from it, is without doubt a revolution. The Indian revolution, unlike the European or American counterpart, did not start with the melodrama of blood and thunder. There was no spectacular fall of crowns, no "reign of terror". And yet things have changed and to men in distant rural parts no less than to those in the hub

of life in the metropolis the little things that stood for life have taken a new and different aspect. Thus the fact that the transfer of political power was peacefully effected does not detract from the revolutionary character "either of the struggle or the qualitative character of the change which both the struggle and the transfer brought about." Our great neighbour China has chosen the path of realising its objectives by the use of force, "by the technique of the science of revolution." India, on the other hand, has opted for "a policy of gradualism", of changes brought about by legislation and by consent, by the methods of parliamentary democracy.

Who can say this is not due as much to the inherent non-violent temper of our people as to the infiltration of two hundred years of British tradition and example which have exercised such a potent yet silent influence on the life and institutions of modern India?

Now the purpose of Chanakya's study as set forth by the author, is to discover the elements that constitute the substance of that revolution, "the factors that have moulded it and given to Indian life its present form and content, the doctrines that give strength and guidance to it, the connection of the new age with the past and with Europe, the characteristics that differentiate the era and give it its ideals, its temper and its outlook."

With a breadth of outlook and sense of perspective that must guide the true historian Chanakya lays bare the sources from which present day India has drawn its inspiration. He gives due weight to the power and influence of the great religions and prophets and teachers who have had an abiding place in the lives and hearts of the people; to the streams of thought and culture that have flowed from alien conquests and civilizations despite temporary aberrations; to the remarkable gift of silent assimilation of foreign culture that is evident in the art and architecture and literature of India no less than in the lives of its teeming millions; and the self sacrificing

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labours of hosts of reformers, patriots and politicians of the Congress and the Liberal brand and the final struggle and achievements of Gandhi and his henchmen in the great liberation.

Chanakya, in the sweep and range of his vision no less than in his gift of historic perspective and style of writing, has given us a book which must rank high in contemporary literature. His language aptly rises to the height of his argument and flows with the majesty and evenness of a river in spate. It is smooth and pleasant and seldom dull or turbid. He does not forget to give due weight to the labours of those who in the early years of the Congress gave shape and inspiration, in their own way, to the nation's fight for freedom. The ideals that the national leaders set themselves have been in terms of liberalism—the democratic Liberalism of British political thought imbibed from the teachings of Burke and Bright and Mill and Morley.

They were *politically* to ensure the freedoms of democratic Government, to maintain the supremacy of the lay state, to uphold the Rule of Law, and to give every section of the community, Muslim, Christian, Sikh and Parsi a sense of national solidarity; *economically* to correct the unbalance of Indian economy through planned development of India's resources, to create a new technological civilization by the combination of industry and service; and *socially* to invigorate the vast, amorphous Hindu Society by injecting life into it, a new sense of social purpose and to reorganise it by codifying its laws, eradicating harmful customs and integrating it into a single community.

Now this is a programme worthy of resurgent India and a programme to be pursued not fitfully but steadily and relentlessly. On the face of it this programme has no revolutionary characteristic and yet, as the author rightly claims, "even its partial fulfilment will mean a revolution which will alter the face of Asia and take its place with the historic movements of all time."

And what ultimately is the importance of this Indian Revolution in world history? And will this structure that is being built up before our eyes endure? The change that is being wrought in India, as every one knows, is not merely political.

It is essentially the birth of a new civilization, an attempted synthesis of the East and the West, a co-mingling of the two producing a new way of life with a distinct individuality. While

retaining its Indian character and strengthening its spiritual foundations New India has sought to assimilate the social purpose, the political conceptions and the economic organisation of the West. If this synthesis proves to be durable and the institutions through which it is expressed gain vigour and strength through normal growth, then India will be forerunner of a new movement, which by incorporating the ancient societies of Asia into the world order may effect a historic transformation in our own life-time. If either it fails, or its growth is started, than Asia will again fall back in the march of time.

That the Revolution effected a marked change in the political and international status of India goes without saying. But the most striking of all changes is psychological. India recovered her soul so long kept under tutelage and unaware of her birthright. The dawn of freedom removed at once the last lingering clouds of despair and inertia. India found herself reawakened as if by magic, after centuries of sleep and subjection. There was a new hope, a new courage and a new faith. Individual Indians learnt to look straight and walk erect. Once the spell of subjection and timidity was broken Indians faced Englishmen as equals. There was a new shine in their faces and a new gait in their movement. Swami Vivekananda used to talk of the lion cub that was brought up among lambs and thought itself no more than a sheep even when it grew up. The Revolution for once brought us to the realisation of our true nature and taught us to shed our sheepishness. That was the greatest and the most outstanding achievement of the Indian Revolution.

But what have we done with all this change in our outlook and psychology? How far have we justified the hopes raised by the dreamers of dreams, the founders of the Republic? It is too early to assess the result and whatever the outcome it is certain to fall short of expectation and nurse feelings of disappointment and frustration. What we need is a sense of balance—neither too elated by our sudden success nor too depressed by failures and unrealised ideals. If sound judgment and correct appreciation of factors tend to keep our hearts aglow, and nerve our arms with strength to carry on, the Indian Revolution would have more than justified itself.

* THE INDIAN REVOLUTION. By Chanakya. The National Information and Publications Ltd. Bombay.

The Crisis in the Congress

The Prime Minister's resignation from the Congress Executive and the Parliamentary Board spotlights the crisis in the Congress. In some respects the struggle within the Congress is an inevitable phase following the fulfilment of its primary aim—freedom from foreign domination. That phase having been accomplished a kind of reaction has naturally set in—and the people no less than their institutions are finding themselves in the grip of a new phase which demands new adjustments. Freedom can only live in a dynamic atmosphere and adjustments are seldom achieved without the stress and strain of new birth. The forces of progress and reaction are again fighting for their rights within the Congress, which when all is said, are an unfailing sign of life, and vigorous life at that. It is easy for smaller men to rail at the Congress because of its failure to live up to their expectations in the new set up. It is easier for some to spurn it and seek or set up new institutions to displace the Congress. But it is upto leaders like Nehru to shape the Congress and fashion it as a fit instrument of national policy.

Congress had its finest hour in 1947 when the country achieved its independence. The unity and strength achieved by the organisation were the outcome of the common desire of all to dispense with the foreigner. Now that the common target is removed weakness and confusion have followed the inevitable lack of firmness and purpose. All the ingenuity and strategy seem now turned against the Congress itself for lack of a purposeful target of attack. This is a natural phase of depression which must be handled with care and no little tact. The old Congress made the nation's policy and had necessarily to keep its deputies in the legislature in trim order lest they weaken and succumb to the lures of office in a foreign bureaucracy. But now the Government is our own. Leaders of the Government are leaders of the Congress as well. The Congress chooses its best men for the Government. It is therefore right that men with power and responsibility should be in close touch with the parent organisation from which they

derive their original strength and representative character. It is up to the men charged with responsibilities of the State not only to reflect the Congress mind but also to mould it in the light of their experience and the demands of day to day administration.

There is a helpful model in the organisation and working of the Labour Executive and its connection with the Government in power in England. Mr. Attlee's hold on the party organisation is as sure and strong as it is among his colleagues in the Cabinet. The model set by the British Labour party could therefore be well adopted: The Party selects a Chairman to preside over its annual Conferences and he disappears with the annual Conference. For it is the man who has the confidence of the party that should exercise sole and undivided authority. Power should always go with responsibility. There could be no *infra dig* in the President of the Congress taking counsel with the Prime Minister in overhauling the Congress and bringing it into line with the changed conditions. For the Prime Minister is the chosen leader of the Congress and its true and leading representative. Mr. Nehru is thus in a position to deliver the goods. It won't do for the Congress to hark back to its past and lose touch with the current of informed opinion and the exigencies of administration. For as has been rightly pointed out by a contemporary, the proposition that the Prime Minister who runs the Government of a country should take his orders from a man who is not in the Government but is the elected head of the Party organisation outside Parliament is untenable on the face of it.

Neither the Conservative Party nor the Labour Party in Britain would agree thus to divorce power from responsibility, as that would be to paralyse the Party itself. Whoever may be the titular head of the party organisation outside Parliament, it is the real Leader who heads the Government. In the Labour Party he nominates the Chairman of the Central Organisation and his Committee. The Party Conference elects its Chairman annually and its decisions are nominally binding on the Government. But the Prime Minister and his colleagues, by their hold on the nation-wide trade union movement, can generally so manage that no inconvenient decision is taken by the Party Conference. If once in a while any

such decision is taken they may ignore it and no crisis results.

Applying these considerations to the Indian context, it will be clear, says our contemporary, that Mr. Nehru, if he has the complete confidence of the Congress, may still properly stay out of the Executive Committee on the ground that he has not time to spare from his duties as Prime Minister. But he cannot, so to say, wash his hands of the Committee and its affairs. He must tell the A.I.C.C., if it is to be called upon to decide, that if it accepts his policies and wants him to carry them out, he must have undisputed leadership and effective powers and that means that the Working Committee or the President can presume to exercise no paramount authority over him or his colleagues in the Government selected by himself.

Nehru and Liaquat

The exchange of correspondence between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has by no means improved the relations between India and Pakistan. If anything the correspondence tended to grow more and more repetitious and rude, and towards the end has finally left the situation worse than before. Neither side has shown the least aptitude or willingness to concede to the other. But the letters have in a way cleared the air of the fog of misunderstanding or misapprehension of the nature of the crisis. India has made it clear beyond doubt that she has no intention of attacking Pakistan but is always prepared to meet aggression on its terms. Mr. Nehru has done well to call the bluff and that is a big contribution to ultimate peace; for this much-needed warning will go a great way to make Pakistan think twice before venturing on a foolhardy act of aggression. But Pakistan has also gained in another way. Her main objective was world propaganda and Mr. Nehru's habitual courtesy in carrying on a futile correspondence doubtless gave Mr. Liaquat Ali the much needed stuff for propaganda stunt. For was not the B.B.C. provided with the text of the letters even before they reached the Indian Prime Minister?

Only after he found himself in the midst of this vicious round of correspondence did the Indian Prime Minister scent the real purpose behind the protracted correspondence. In his last reply he was brief and firm when he rejected outright the so-called peace plan

of the Pakistan Prime Minister with the significant observation:

Peace is not offered with clenched fists nor with threatened aggression and resounding cries of *jehad*.

Referring to Mr. Liaquat Ali's attempt to distinguish between Kashmir and Indian territory, Mr. Nehru warned:

You have continually envisaged the possibility of using your armed forces to attack Kashmir. For us such an attack is an attack on Indian territory which will have to be met fully if it takes place.

Mr. Nehru added:

It is because of your constant threat of *jehad* and war to achieve your purpose in Kashmir, that we were compelled to take precautionary measures and make certain troop dispositions. So long as that threat remains, no Government in India can avoid, taking all necessary defensive steps.

Analysing the issues involved, Mr. Nehru said:

The issue is simple. We do not agree about the merits of the Kashmir question. Do we agree or not that there must be no further resort to warfare for the settlement of the dispute? We have offered to do so and you have refused to accept that position or to give the necessary assurance.

Naturally one wonders what purpose will be served by the continuance of such correspondence. That India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan must be pretty clear to any unbiassed observer. Mr. Nehru has given strict instructions that nothing by way of civil defence or other measures necessary for the prosecution of war should be undertaken. Newspapers and the public devote more space and time to the rift in the Congress party, to the coming general elections and to the Japanese peace treaty than to Pakistan. This is as it should be. New Delhi is therefore puzzled and anxious about the significance of the continued practice of black-outs and air raid precautions in Pakistan and the cry of a holy war continually preached during the last three years.

Indeed India is rather amused at the way in which our good neighbour is fighting with shadows, showing faces and grimacing, with clenched fists and violent gesticulations. It would all be so funny were it not fraught with tragic consequences if the people work themselves into a foolish frenzy and blunder into a suicidal offensive. India waits in patience and good humour knowing for certain that a false step by either, while it will injure India, will certainly finish Pakistan.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE POST-WAR FINANCIAL PROBLEM AND OTHER ESSAYS: By F. W. Paish. Mac-Millan & Co., Ltd., London.

This is a collection of 12 essays written between the years 1935 and 1949 on Monetary, Banking, Fiscal and Trade problems. The first five essays deal with different aspects of the imperfectly controlled post-war inflation in Britain, and the other essays, written prior to 1941, represent the studies he carried out as an official of the Standard Bank of S. Africa and later as an academic economist. The title of the book is obviously derived from the first five essays, for they form, apart from their topical interest, the author's more important contribution to policy making.

The first five essays deal with such widely different, but related, problems as capital reconstruction in Britain, the effects of cheap money policy, the efficacy of the price system as providing an individual incentive for socially useful action, the relation between saving and investment in post-war Britain and the economics of rent restriction in Britain. As the proper remedy for all these problems, except the last, the author prescribes surplus budgeting. It may appear strange that surplus budgeting should be such an omnibus remedy for such different problems as the ones examined, but in view of the new importance that national budgets have assumed under planning and in view also of the fact that all the problems examined have their common origin in war and post-war inflation, the author is wise in prescribing a remedy which strikes at the root of things. These essays, though they deal with the problems as they are manifested in Britain, contain theoretical and analytical expositions which clarify the essentials of the problems as they may occur anywhere, and so will be found exceedingly useful in evolving disinflationary policies in any country.

The three essays, viz., Banking Policy and the Balance of International Pay-

ments, Forecasting Foreign Trade, and Causes of Changes in Gold Supply have emerged out of his S. African experience. Still they are of more than local importance. In the first he has developed the new concept of Marginal Propensity to Import; in the second he has evolved a rough technique for forecasting the trend of foreign trade; and in the third he has analysed almost fully the differential importance of the factors governing changes in gold supply.

In Twenty years of the Floating Debt and British Floating Debt Policy we have a fairly minute historical review of the British floating debt and the changes in policy adopted therein. The techniques evolved in connection with the issue of treasury bills are fully explained, and more valuable still, the impact effects of treasury operations on the banking and currency situation are clearly expounded.

The last two essays, Capital Value and Income and Economic Incentive in War-time are purely theoretical and contain new methods of economic measurement.

Coming as the essays do from the pen of an erudite economist who has had experience as an academician, a banker and an administrator, they combine theoretical insight with practical knowledge and give a penetrating analysis of the problems examined. They should appeal to all economists, administrators and bankers.

ENJOYING BOOKS. By Geoffrey Treese. Phoenix House Ltd. 33 William IV St., Charing Cross, London.

This is a welcome addition to the Series of Excursion Books for Young People. The idea is to stimulate interest in literature, to teach the beginner how to choose books and enjoy reading. Mr. Treese has a pleasant, informal way of guiding the aspirant through the rich and varied fields of English classics—in prose and verse. The quotations with which he has illustrated his thesis must whet the reader's appetite and speed him on to the original—which certainly ought to be the aim of such writing.

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FRAGMENTS OF A PRISONER'S DIARY NO. 2 INDIA'S MESSAGE. By M. N. Roy. Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta, Price Rs. 6.

The book is a collection of six essays, which records 'the reflections of a solitary prisoner' and published with the purpose of provoking thought. They deal with Indian culture and religious mode of thought. Mr. M. N. Roy is no doubt, an intellectual. The acuteness of his mind, his erudition, the boldness and candour of his opinions, the nerve and vigour of his style offer us many delightful pages of reading. At the same time they offer us a challenge at every step.

The author, it must be remembered, is a man of many frustrations. He is a tragedy in modern life. Owing allegiance to none, and having no following of his own, he has been ploughing a lone furrow. The conditions have thrown him into a distemper which leads him to strange assessment of values of men and movements. He is conclusively of the view that India will not be able to shake off her political servitude and economic misery, her social backwardness, her intellectual coma, so long as the educated youth remains drugged by the spiritualist message of a Vivekananda, Dayanand or an Aurobindo or of any other prophet who may preach some such doctrine.

To him Manu is the Draco of India who legislated in the interests of a priestly and cultural aristocracy. By subordinating the two ends of life, Artha and Kama to two other ends Dharma and Moksha, all the scientific and intellectual life of the nation was arrested and it has been led into a life of stagnation. It is historically false to assert that Indian civilization was even superior to that of the West nor is it true that India has a spiritual mission to the rest of the world. On the other hand India needs a message herself. Gandhism is mere clap-trap which will save neither India nor the world. To capture a future India must discard her entire past and her Manu and hearken to the Marxist philosophy of materialism. The message of the book is not that of India but to India and the message is Marxward Ho!

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS IN KASHMIR. By 'Hon'ble Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg. Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar.

The Hon'ble Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, Jammu and Kashmir state, has collected in a concise volume, the speeches he had delivered on the Land Reforms Policy of the State. Agrarian Reforms of a far reaching nature have been introduced, and the implementation of the provisions of the historic abolition of Big Landed Estates Act has begun in earnest. The new law is aimed at liquidating the intermediary interests in land and the experiment is daring and revolutionary aimed at shaping afresh the whole structure of the social and economic life of the State. We feel that the results of this great new experiment, would have extensive repercussions, in the other parts of the country ere long.

The speeches are quite instructive and informative and make a highly topical reading at the moment, when the Kashmir question forms the headline of the day's news.

SHEIKH MOHD. ABDULLA AND THE KASHMIR MUDDLE—Compiled by Hori Lal Saxena.—The Nationalist Office, New Delhi, Price Re. 1.

This is one version of all the happenings in the Kashmir State since 1931 and gives an account of the past doings of Sheikh Abdulla. It says that the condition of the minorities in Kashmir was no better than that in Pakistan, while the services had nearly doubled in number and expenditure. The National conference which was organised was neither national nor representative, and the communal tension had not been eliminated. All told the pamphlet is a bitter and prejudiced attack on Sher-i-Kashmir and his policy.

THE ZOO GUIDE. Madras Zoological Gardens, S. India. Published by the Corporation of Madras.

The Zoo Guide published by the Madras Corporation is a very attractive volume abounding in pictures of the Zoo and its inhabitants. There is an interesting introductory history of the Madras Zoo followed by a few pictures of the various animals.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

July 27. U.N. delegation presents blue-print on Korea truce line.
—Mailed fist adopted as Pak symbol.

July 28. Gorwala Committee report for reorganisation of administrative machinery published.

July 29. Nehru justifies defence measures.

July 30. Lord Privy Seal to lead U.K. mission to Teheran.

July 31. Mr. Kidwai tenders resignation from Cabinet.
—Abadan oil plant closes down.

Aug. 1. Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State rejects communist proposal for buffer zone along 38th Parallel.

Aug. 2. Mr. Kidwai quits the Cabinet.

Aug. 3. Threat to Burma border, clash between Chinese Communists and Nationalists.

Aug. 4. British delegation in Teheran.
—Ridgeway protests against Red violations of neutrality of Kaesong.

Aug. 5. Nehru replies to Liaqat Ali that attack on Kashmir will be deemed attack on India which will be met fully.

Aug. 6. President opens fourth Session of Parliament.
—Ridgeway demands guarantees for resumption of truce talks.

Aug. 7. Minister for Railways moves Bill to give power to ban strikes.
—U. S. Foodship in Bombay.

Aug. 8. Lord Auchinleck leaves Karachi for U. K. after 4 months' tour of East and West Pakistan.

Aug. 9. Parliament passes Bill approving President's assumption of functions of Government of Punjab.

Aug. 10. Railwaymen's Federation suspends strike move.
—Nehru submits resignation from Congress Executive and Parliamentary Board.

Aug. 11. Govt. float Rs. 50 crore cash cum conversion loan.
—Congress executive meets at New Delhi.

Aug. 12. Congress President offers to resign.

Aug. 13. Russia accepts U. S. invitation to Frisco Conference on Japanese peace.
—Dr. Graham meets Mr. Nehru in Delhi.

Aug. 14. Nehru-Tandon talks to evolve a compromise.
—Mediterranean Fleets' visit to Alexandria cancelled.

Aug. 15. Fifth year of Indian Independence: President's call to nation.

Aug. 16. Indian Muslims present a Memorandum to Dr. Graham, U. N. representative in Kashmir.

Aug. 17. Allies and Communists agree to Buffer zone in Korea.
—Punjab State Legislative Bill passed by Parliament.

Aug. 18. J. P. and Railway Minister discuss Railwaymen's demands.

Aug. 19. Breakdown of oil talks in Teheran.
—U. K. appeals to Egypt to break deadlock.

Aug. 20. Eleven killed in I. A. F. plane crash near Poona.
—Richard Stokes, British oil envoy, offers new oil plan to Iran.

Aug. 21. Congress Parliamentary Party meeting at Delhi expresses absolute confidence in Nehru's leadership.

Aug. 22. U. K. breaks off oil talks on Iran's rejection of latest offer.

Aug. 23. Nahas Pasha, Egyptian Prime Minister, declares that Anglo-Egyptian treaty will be abrogated.
—Communists break off Kaesong talks.

Aug. 24. U.N. demands fresh terms for resumption of truce talks.
—Stalemate in oil talks.

Aug. 25. Parliament passes Bill to set up permanent Tariff Commission.

Aug. 26. Shias in conference at Lucknow criticise Pak policy and support Nehru's leadership.

Aug. 27. The Prime Minister explains in Parliament India's decision to abstain from Jap Treaty Conference.
—Sri D. P. Mishra, Home Minister, U. P. resigns.



READERS' DIGEST



WHAT IS FREEDOM?

On August 1 the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, published the text of a statement by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, fulfilling its pledge to publish any message he cared to send to the Russian people.

Alongside, the newspaper printed its reply, which it had asked should be given equal prominence in British newspapers.

Pravda had promised to use the statement in full in reply to a challenge from Mr. Morrison at a luncheon in London.

Presenting the British conception of freedom, Mr. Morrison began by stating that knowledge of truth was essential to an understanding between peoples. He said:

In Britain, we impose no restrictions on access to all available news and views. So the people can make up their own minds for themselves. Their views are neither made for them, nor dictated to them.

In Russia, it is different. Many facts and views are withheld from you, and there is not that freedom of speech and free access to the knowledge of how the rest of the world lives and thinks which are essential to an understanding of each other. This ignorance creates fear and suspicion between peoples.

If you were able to meet more British people or free to travel to Britain, this ignorance could be broken down. Hundreds of thousands of our people go abroad for their annual holidays each year, and I am sure many would be glad to spend their holidays, if they could, in the Soviet Union. Your Government, for reasons I cannot understand, refuses to let you travel freely.

The Foreign Secretary said the people of Russia could learn more if British newspapers had free circulation in the Soviet Union and they could listen to broadcasts from Britain. He took the opportunity of the statement to give the specific times at which Russian-language broadcasts are transmitted to Russia.

These broadcasts, he said, were "artificially and internationally jammed" by the Soviets.

"I wonder why?" he asked. "What has your Government to fear? I wish it would follow our practice—broadcasts in English from the Soviet

Union can be freely listened to, and not only the British Communist daily paper but *Pravda* itself can be bought. Our view is that in a free and enlightened democracy everyone is able to judge for himself the truth of what he hears or reads.

In Britain, great store was set on personal freedom.

British citizens are not removed from their homes; they are not deported; they are not sent to labour camps. If there is a knock at the door in the early morning, there is no fear that it is the police. It will probably be only the milkman or the postman. I wonder whether all of you can honestly say you have this same sense of personal security which every British citizen enjoys.

A Briton's freedom included the right of assembly and political freedom to oppose or support the Government. "No group has a monopoly of power in Britain."

Then Mr. Morrison explained Britain's rearmament programme.

I would like to make it clear to you why we consider this necessary. You are told we are warmongers, that, in alliance with other countries of Europe and the United States of America, we are arming to the teeth, in an arms race, that we are prepared for a new war.

"This is not true," Mr. Morrison declared.

None of it is true. The British people who shared with the Russian people the sufferings of the Hitlerite war do not want a third world war. Our alliances are defensive alliances. With you we have the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance concluded in 1942. The North Atlantic Treaty is another defensive alliance. They are not directed against anyone except an aggressor.

But Britain was rearming "because of the policy which has been pursued by the Soviet Government since the end of the war."

If as your leaders tell us Communist and non-Communist States can live together in the world, why is it necessary for your Government to pursue a policy and to found organisations whose only purpose seems to be to stir up trouble and international hatred?

We saw that while we had demobilised and disarmed, your Government had retained vast armed forces and military establishments in being. Gradually we came to realise that the lack of balance in military power between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers was endangering our very existence, and that the lack of balance must be redressed.

Peoples everywhere were afraid of war, Mr. Morrison said. Britain would like to get the causes of this fear removed, and all grounds of suspicion and distrust between nations eliminated.

On behalf of the British Government, I can assure you there is no reason to have any fear of our policy towards the people of the Soviet Union.

He ended by saying he hoped the statement would help to bring about better understanding between Russia and Britain and that

now *Pravda* has opened its columns to me, I shall have further opportunities of putting the British point of view before the Russian people and of answering any observations which *Pravda* may make.

Pravda's reply said, that Mr. Morrison, was "deeply mistaken" in asserting there was no freedom of speech or the Press or personal freedom in Russia.

In no country is there such freedom of speech, freedom of the Press or personal freedom, freedom of organisation for workers, farmers, intellectuals—as in the Soviet Union. Does Morrison know of this? Evidently he does not.

Moreover, apparently he does not even want to know of this—he prefers to draw his data from complaints coming from representatives of the Russian capitalists and landlords who were driven out of the U.S.S.R. by the will of the Soviet people.

The paper said the freedoms did not exist for enemies of the people.

All these criminals, from the landlords and capitalists down to the terrorists, thieves, assassins and subversive agents, are out to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R., to restore the exploitation of man by man and to drench the country in the blood of the workers and farmers. The prisons and labour camps exist for these gentlemen, and for them only. Surely, it is not for these gentlemen that Morrison seeks freedom of speech, freedom of the Press and personal freedom?

"The Foreign Secretary made no mention of other freedoms which were of much greater significance than freedom of speech and freedom of the Press," *Pravda* said:

Specifically he does not say anything about freedom from exploitation for the people, about freedom from economic crises, from unemployment, from poverty. Perhaps Mr. Morrison is unaware that all these freedoms have existed for a long time in the Soviet Union.

And these freedoms are the basis of all the other freedoms. Does not Mr. Morrison fully keep silent about these basic freedoms because unfortunately they do not exist in Britain, and British workers still suffer from exploitation by the capitalists in spite of the fact that the Labour Party has now been in office in Britain for six years?

BAIT FOR A WAR BASE

Under the heading "Malice With Motive," *Hindustan Standard* writes editorially:

If Pakistan needs any encouragement to her latest war-like moves, she has it in plenty from her patrons abroad. Comments in the British Press on the provocative troop-movements by Pakistan bear the usual anti-Indian slant and more of it. The same line is being maintained also by the American Press. And the sum of all these comments in the Anglo-American Press is that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is a model of reason and restraint. Sri Nehru is nothing of the kind and India's obstinacy on the Kashmir issue is responsible for the present threatening situation in this sub-continent.

With the above line of Anglo-American propaganda, we have by now become fairly familiar. Argument does never appeal to minds already settled; the hard fact of Pakistan's latest violent acts and preparations for staging a conflict will be ignored; and that will be done in the same manner as Pakistan's self-confessed act of aggression in Kashmir has been condoned. India, on the other hand, has seen good game since lodging her complaint with the Security Council. She happens now to be more so and more definitely a victim of pressure, intrigue and misrepresentation.

India suffers from a disadvantage, because in the calculation of the Western Powers, Pakistan is more obliging and India is not. The propaganda campaign abroad against India has been stepped up now, largely because the Western Powers are anxious but not quite sure yet of gaining a military foothold in this sub-continent. Mr. Liaquat Ali is willing enough to allow it, and proposal for a military pact between Britain and Pakistan is just now being hotly canvassed.

Kashmir enters into the calculation, maybe as a base or bastion or as a bait. Opinion in the West is being understandably worked up against India. Settlement in Kashmir is from the Western point of view, a side-issue only; but Pakistan is to be appeased, as without it the West's strategic aims in the Middle East cannot be carried out successfully.

PROPAGANDA IN PAKISTAN

The Ministry of External Affairs Government of India has issued a White Paper listing the persistent war propaganda carried on by Pakistan against India on the Kashmir issue. It is entitled "Pakistan's war propaganda against India." For many months past, says the White Paper, persistent incitement to war against India on the Kashmir issue has been carried on in Pakistan through official and non-official statements, by the Government-owned Radio Pakistan, through resolutions said to have been passed by various political organisations and through the Press.

"In fact, this campaign began with the invasion of Kashmir, but it has become more virulent and direct since the publication of the Dixon Report in September 1950, in which Pakistan's aid to the tribesmen and her own invasion of the State were considered by the United Nations Mediator as breaches of international law. It is significant that the tribesmen who invaded the State in 1947 should receive so much attention in the Pushtu programmes of the Government-owned Radio Pakistan, Pushtu being the language of the tribal area."

This White Paper contains a selection of typical extracts which reveal the object, extent and scope of this dangerous propaganda; a fuller record would run into several volumes.

The Governor-General of Pakistan in a speech on September 9, 1950, reported in the *Dawn*, declared that the liberation of Kashmir was the cardinal belief of every Pakistani. Pakistan would remain incomplete until the whole of Kashmir was liberated.

Other examples quoted by the White Paper are:

All constitutional means having failed to solve the Kashmir problem, it must be clear that there is an alternative left to us except an appeal to force. Our freedom struggle has now entered a crucial phase and we should mobilise all our strength for the final assault when a call for that comes from our leaders. (Sirdar Mohammad Alam Khan, President of the Lahore Branch of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, *Civil and Military Gazette* Lahore, 23-9-50).

Four hundred tribal leaders of Irani Baluchistan have declared that the Kashmir question will now be decided by sword only and that 1,000 armed

Baluch young men are standing ready for this *Ghaza*. (Radio Pakistan, Pushtu broadcast, 21-1-51).

Kashmir is our own country. We will not let it go at any cost. Our cup of patience is full now and we strongly demand from our Government to allow us to liberate our Kashmiri brethren from Dogra Raj. Islam Zindabad. Pakistan Zindabad. (Radio Pakistan, Tribal Pushtu broadcast, 2-3-51.)

Jihad is the bounden duty of a Muslim and that every Muslim should be prepared and his feet always covered with dust...both morning and evening he should have his hand on the sword in order to spread Islam and expand territory. (*Jang*, Karachi, 6-9-50 news item.)

This time the U.N. must act. The hand on the trigger has already waited too long. It cannot wait indefinitely. The man whose motherland is being trampled under the heels of an occupation army cannot sit in peace. World opinion is too trivial for him. The people of Azad Kashmir did not make a secret that the only solution of the Kashmir problem is *Jihad*. (*Dawn*, Karachi, 19-11-50. An article.)

Here is the brigand (Nehru) who has robbed the Kashmiris of their freedom, and placed them under the heel of his troops. Here is the plunderer who now proposes to compel the helpless people of that State at the point of his soldiers' bayonets to declare that they love the heels which trample upon them. The United Nations went to war in Korea to chastise the bandits from across the 38th Parallel; what do they propose to do to chastise the brigand in Kashmir? (*Dawn*, Karachi 8-6-51. Editorial).

In a poem entitled 'Kashmir Valley' Maulana Zafar Ali Khan writes in the *Zamindar* of June 16 last.

To keep alive our traditions in the age is a sign of victory and triumph. I swear by the strength of Ali that there is glory under the shade of the swords. We will some day sit on the throne—Delhi has been our seat of Government for centuries.

Shah Allahabadi writing in *Pashan* of Dacca in January last says:

Take Kashmir, take Kashmir, oh Pakistanis, you are the fortune of Islam, Islam is in danger, you should take swords in your hands, become sturdy, courageous and advance. Take the flags of Islam and become courageous for taking Kashmir."

Some of the headlines from the Pakistan Press quoted in the White paper make grim reading:

"Fie upon the kingdom which is not purchased by blood. Kashmir or death." (*Jalil Nizam* Lahore, of February 7): "If India does not give up her intransigence, swords will be drawn to liberate Kashmir." (*Zamindar* of Lahore 28-10-50); "The Kashmir dispute must be settled before the month of September; lakhs of tribesmen are prepared to plunge into a *Jihad*". (*Jang* of Karachi 29-8-50).

TRENDS IN THE INDIAN SCENE

"If the British had remained in India after the war, they would today be fighting a cruel, dishonouring and un-ending war such as the French are ruining themselves by fighting in Indo-China. The people, the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs, rich and the poor, would be against the occupying Power; leadership might well be falling into Communist hands as elsewhere in Asia where the Western nations attempt to maintain domination. As it is, with the British gone, Congress like the Muslim League, is beginning to crack for lack of common domestic unity."

Thus writes the *New Statesman and the Nation* in an editorial analysing the trends in Indian political scene to-day. The paper goes on:

Kripalani, a Hindu and Kidwai, a Muslim, both old friends and Government colleagues of Pandit Nehru have recently denounced Congress policy, complaining bitterly of the drift away from Gandhism—by which in the main they mean the failure of the Congress leaders to maintain any semblance of code of self-discipline and simplicity of living which Gandhiji had urged as the basis of a free India. Mr. Nehru was able to persuade Kripalani and Kidwai not at present to press the demands of their "Democratic Front" within the Congress itself, but they have made it clear that they will fight as a separate party at the next elections. Logically this new party might be expected to join up with the Socialist Party which today, torn by internal dissensions, is more remarkable for the idealism of Jaiprakash Narain than for the influence it wields in the policies of India. Such an alliance would be the basis for a serious Indian opposition. Kripalani and Kidwai, however, are not Socialists and it is doubtful whether the party of Jaiprakash Narain could ever sacrifice the purity of its ideological dissensions for the sake of political effectiveness.

One strange result of these events is that Mr. Nehru, the hero of the Left-wing, is forced into association with the anti-deluvian conservatism of Mr. Tandon who last year defeated Kripalani as President of the Congress.

Even temporarily, such an association would probably be impossible if Mr. Tandon were as much interested in policies as he is interested in such matters as persuading Hindus to wear canvas rather than leather shoes and to prevent cows being slaughtered before they are starved to death. Such preoccupations may make it possible for Pandit Nehru and Mr. Tandon to work for a time in double harness, but every follower of Nehru must be well aware that Tandon's strict religious views mark him politically a natural ally of the Mahasabha, the extreme Hindu nationalists,

and indirectly of the R.S.S., the semi-fascist militant association, which was never effectively suppressed even after Gandhi's murder.

It is much too soon to make prophecies about election. Even the date is still uncertain. It is not however too early to point the moral of recent events.

Everything conspires to increase the power of the conservative forces and to weaken those of the Left in India. The Communists, mainly as a result of their own violence and ill-judgment as well as their support of the Allied cause during the war, now count for little everywhere in the sub-continent, except in an area on the borders of Hyderabad and Madras. The forces of the Left as we have seen are divided and encouraged. By remaining so long in partnership with Patel and allowing internal reform drift while concentrating on international politics, Nehru has disappointed the progressive forces which looked to him for leadership. A strong case could, of course, be argued that his first duty was to prevent that Balkanisation of India which was so freely prophesied as the aftermath of Britain's departure. He has certainly played a valuable part in maintaining an independent policy for India and showing the world the way to peace in Korean conflict.

FREE KASHMIR

It is now fairly clear that the conditions envisaged by the United Nations for a plebiscite in Kashmir on the issue of accession to India or Pakistan are not likely to be agreed upon and that the plan to settle the accession issue by means of a plebiscite will have to be given up for good, says Mr. P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society, in the course of an article in *Swatantra*.

Even if the U.N. conditions were attainable, it would be most unwise to adopt that method. For, as far as the great majority of the voters is concerned, the issue would be presented as "Koran Vs. Kafir," and not on its political, economic and cultural implications.

It is doubtful if even the top Pakistani leaders will not concentrate on the religious issue. Indeed the chief argument of Pakistan is that Kashmir is a predominantly Muslim country and should, therefore, accede to it. To ask the Muslim majority in Kashmir to choose on such a presentation, would inevitably lead to disastrous consequences, like genocide and refugees. Plebiscite in Kashmir on the issue of accession to India or Pakistan would be an unforgivable crime against innocent humanity.

If a plebiscite be held, and Kashmir joins India or Pakistan, the defeated party is very unlikely to accept the verdict with philosophical resignation, and live in peace with its neighbour. It will be a perpetual fostering sore. Accession to

India or Pakistan, he says, is no peaceful solution.

A peaceful solution should be by agreement between the two Governments, and should not involve victory or defeat to either, but be a compromise, which does not unduly strain the pride and prestige of either.

One peaceful solution is for Kashmir to remain an Independent State like Afghanistan or Switzerland, and for its independence to be respected and guaranteed not only by India and Pakistan, but also by the United Nations. This solution should not hurt the pride and prestige of India or Pakistan too much. This is perhaps the best peaceful solution.

In the writer's view, it will be an exchange honourable to both, and no humiliating surrender for either. As it is, Pakistan is itself partitioned as it were into West and East Pakistan, separated by over a thousand miles of India.

East Pakistan is a kind of 'enclave' in India, being surrounded by India on three sides. It is not administratively convenient. Further the economy of East Bengal is much more linked with that of West Bengal than with that of West Pakistan.

The sentimental and cultural ties between the two vivisected Bengals are much greater and stronger than between East Bengal and West Punjab. Even the Muslim majority in East Bengal is more drawn to the Hindu majority in West Bengal as 'Bengalees' than to the Muslim majority in West Pakistan as 'Muslims.' Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal had to be annulled because the peoples of the two Bengals were more united as Bengalees than divided as Hindus and Muslims.

This sentiment, which still survives, may render the re-union of the two Bengals a peaceful and practical proposition.

In exchange, India may well agree to part with Kashmir in favour of Pakistan. India and Pakistan will then be compact units, easy of administration and economically more self-sufficient, and with fewer points of possible friction.

If, by this exchange, good and amicable relations are established between India and Pakistan, it would not matter much whether Kashmir be technically part of Pakistan, and East Bengal part of India.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY!

The doctor rushed out of his study.

"Get my bag at once" he shouted.

"Why, Dad?" asked his daughter "what is the matter?"

"Some fellow just phoned he can't live without me," gasped the doctor, reaching for his hat.

His daughter breathed a sigh of relief.

"Just a moment" she said quietly.

"I think that call was for me."

SOVIET AIR POWER

The magazine *Aviation Age* says that the Soviet Union produced over 19,000 planes last year, while the United States turned out 8,000.

In an issue entirely devoted to Russian air power, it said the Soviet decentralized air industry was probably operating at something less than half its potential.

"This industry is represented, according to best unofficial information by 25 to 28 major airframe plants, between 12 and 15 power plant factories, and possibly some forty odd makers of component parts," it declared.

The magazine, a trade and technical publication, said Russian MIG-15 fighters were more heavily armed and faster in the climb than "the best jet the U.S. Air Force now has in service."

Soviet air production in 1950 included 8,200 fighters, 3,700 light and medium bombers, 1,200 heavy bombers, 1,800 transports, and 4,100 trainers and miscellaneous aircraft, it said.

The TUG-75, a heavy bomber and a potential atom bomb carrier was said to be "well along in construction."

Russian naval air strength was estimated at 2,000 planes of all types. One 20,000-ton aircraft-carrier had been completed and two others—one of 23,000 tons—were under construction.

WHAT IS SCANDINAVIA?

It sometimes happens that one Scandinavian country or its capital is mistaken for another. Some people think that Scandinavia is only one country but there are three independent Scandinavian countries namely Denmark, Norway and Sweden. (Sometimes also a fourth country, Finland is considered a Scandinavian country).

The names of the capitals of Denmark, Norway and Sweden are:

Denmark : Copenhagen (1,000,000 inhabitants).
Norway : Oslo (418,000 "
Sweden : Stockholm (922,000 "
The Kings of the three countries are:

Denmark : King Frederik IX.
Norway : King Haakon VII.
Sweden : King Gustav VI.

CAVE TEMPLES OF AJANTA

High praise on the architectural grandeur of the cave temples of Ellora and Ajanta is bestowed by Nikolai Cherkasov, people's artist of the U.S.S.R., who toured India recently. He writes in *Soviet Land*:

Many generations of highly gifted Indian builders created these magnificent masterpieces of architecture; more than thirty cave temples and monasteries of Ellora that are carved out of one huge rock.

We examined the most remarkable of these Ellora creations—the Kailas temple. In the courtyard of the temple there are vast elephants. Quadrangular columns with frescoes. All of this was also carved out of the rock.

We wander through the storeys of the temple, filled with admiration for everything we see. All around the temple are frescoes depicting gods, men, elephants, lions and griffons. The temple itself stands deep inside the courtyard. Above its entrance is an enormous figure of the god Shiva. We enter the temple. Our attention is drawn to the figure of the goddess Lakshmi. She is lying on a couch surrounded by elephants.

The Kailas temple is a wonderful work of art created by great and unknown artists from among the people. We wander through the temple a long time, emerge into the courtyard and again return inside unable to tear our eyes away from this work of genius.

Uptill the 12th century, Ellora and its temples were the centre of Indian philosophy and poetry. Here philosophers and poets gathered, argued and read their works, inspired by the beauty of these wonderful monuments of architecture.

We must hurry, for we are going to Ajanta. A lovely road leads up another hill. Again we have a view of the valley, with big leafy trees that are round, as if they had been trimmed to that shape. The grass is a yellowish-green. In the distance appears another chain of mountains wreathed in violet mist. We approach an enormous, wide ravine. We turn right and the ravine grows narrower. Finally we reach Ajanta.

We ascend one hundred steps and at the cure of the dark ravine come to temples carved out of rock like those at Ellora. There are more than twenty of them. We examine only a few, the most remarkable ones.

Many of the caves are similar to one another. As you enter there is a colonnade, then several quadrangular halls with paintings executed with a special kind of paint on their walls. They depict the life of Buddha, various moments from everyday life. The colours have preserved their freshness and brightness to our day.

Near and on the altars of each temple, we saw wonderfully carved gods. The guides illuminated them with big electric lights.

We approach the temple that was especially recommended to us as worth viewing. Concerts used to be given in it. A sort of booming sound catches our attention. You say something and it seems to boom somewhere far away. I let out my voice on a high note and it boomed like a piano string with the pedal pressed down, gradually fading away in the recesses of the temple. We timed it: the sound faded for 12 to 13 seconds and died away on the 15th to 16th second.

How were these temples built? What did these great artists—India's sons—use for illumination as they created such magnificent works of art? It seems there is a special kind of granite here which reflects the sun and lights up the depths of the temple. This light enabled the great artists to see what they were creating.

PAKISTAN'S MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Who leads the armaments race in the, Indian sub-continent? asks the *Hitavada* and answers:

"With only absolute figures before them it might appear to the West that India spends two and a half times as much as Pakistan on her defence needs. But as against this, it should be remembered that both in extent of territory and population, India is at least four times as large as her neighbour. Another fact which is noteworthy in this comparison between India and Pakistan is that whereas India's Defence Budget has gone up by 9 per cent since 1948-49, Pakistan's has shot up by as much as 87 per cent in the corresponding period.

This marked disparity in the rate of increase of the respective defence budgets of the two countries has been commented upon by Prof. A. M. Khan, formerly Indian Consul in Saudi Arabia: "Reckoned as a percentage of national expenditure, no country in the world had as high military expenditure as Pakistan." Pakistan definitely leads the way in the armaments race, and this at the cost of social services, which receive a niggardly Rs. 1 crore allotment per year."

BRITISH PRESS AND INDIA

Mr. C. P. B. Simpson of the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mills Co. Ltd., in a letter to the *London Times* says:

I am an Englishman employed in India, and like numerous others similarly placed, I deeply deplore many of the comments which have recently appeared in the British Press on the Indo-Pakistan dispute. The impression is gaining ground in India that the British Government and Press are solidly behind Pakistan in this dispute, and a report, however unfounded, that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's replies to Mr. Nehru's telegrams were either drafted or vetted in Whitehall or at the United Kingdom High Commissioner's Office in Karachi, has caused even more ill-feeling. The presence in Pakistan of F. M. Auchinleck and the appointment as High Commissioner of Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, rightly or wrongly regarded as an unreconciled opponent of Congress, are circumstances also regarded with suspicion.

The Indian Government and the Indian people as a whole, have hitherto shown the greatest goodwill towards the British community, and it is a pity that this should be dispelled by the undue prominence given to pro-Pakistan views in the British Press.

The damage already done will take long to repair. Whatever the rights of the Kashmir issue, nothing can excuse the warlike utterances and threats of "Jehad" emanating from supposedly responsible persons. We should be glad to consider as exaggerations reports of mass demonstrations in Pakistan calling for war against India, and the recapture of Delhi, the "traditional throne" of the Muslims but in face of such reports, it is not surprising that India should have made defensive troop movements. There is no fear of Indian aggression, and it must be remembered that the initiative of violence in Kashmir was not India's. The lawful Government of Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union, and any alteration of this situation brought about by force ought not to be tolerated, the alleged analogy of Hyderabad notwithstanding.

PARABLE WITH A PURPOSE

The following parables highlighting the qualities that make life and living purposeful are narrated by Sadhu T. L. Vaswani in the July issue of *Mira*:

In a pretty little story we read that the angels asked God if there was anything in the world stronger than rocks. "Yes," answered God, "stronger than rocks is iron: for iron can break rock."

"Anything stronger than iron?" asked the angels; and the Lord answered: "Fire: for iron may be melted in fire."

"Anything stronger than fire?" asked the angels; and the Lord said: "Yes; water: for fire is quenched by water."

"Anything stronger than water?" then angels asked again; and the Lord answered: "Yes, wind: for wind may scatter water."

"Anything stronger than wind?" asked the angels. "Yes," said the Lord, "sympathy is stronger; and nothing there be that is stronger than the compassionate heart." Compassion, *maitri* will be the key to the new social order.

Yudhishtira of great heart stands—so we read in the Mahabharata—before the gate of heaven. And the God at the gate tells him: "Come! Enter thou the heaven!" Yudhishtira says: "The dog is with me!" The God says to him: "You must leave the dog behind." Yudhishtira says, "Faithful has been the dog to me. I cannot leave the dog,—no! not for the sake of the God."

"Come!" says the God, "let the beast stand outside: enter thou!" Yudhishtira says: "I cannot enter heaven alone!" And the dog changes its form: the dog becomes Dharma and says to Yudhishtira: "Well done! Enter thou the highest heaven!"

SOUND AND ODOUR

To the list of animals responsive to music, often fatally for themselves, is now added the crocodile. A gramophone played by a fishing party in Australia accidentally caused this discovery, says *Thought*. Later experiments left no doubt about the musical proclivities of this crustaceous reptile.

Unlike Indian cobras, rather selectively attuned to the snaky symphonies of their traditional piper, crocodiles off Darwin coast have shown no particular preferences, having apparently enjoyed everything from sombre fugues to boisterous whoopees. Whether or not they were moved to crocodile tears at any point has not been reported, but like the hapless young oysters in Lewis Carroll's song, they were charmed out of their homes—and eventually out of existence. This sounds most convenient for hunters, and of special interest in these parts, where crocodiles compete with tigers in homicidal capacities. But if those in Indian waters are as musical as their Australian cousins, their extinction may henceforth be no more than a matter of soirees, held pleasantly in open air on judicious river-banks.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

CEYLON INDIANS' CITIZENSHIP

Mr. S. Thondaman, Indian member for Nuwara Eliya, challenged the Premier of Ceylon in the House of Representatives to prove his statement that Indians were given sixteen years' time to acquire Ceylon citizenship. That facility under the domicile test was offered only to such Indians as were temporarily resident in Ceylon and whose domicile was in doubt.

It was, therefore, wrong to say, Mr. Thondaman maintained, that permanent Indian settlers here were given an opportunity to become citizens of Ceylon.

"We are wondering what was the real reason for all the discriminatory acts against the Indian community. At one time it was alleged that the Indian had one leg in India and another in Ceylon. At another time the Government complained that Ceylon Indians had bad leadership and hence they suffered. Again the Premier levelled a charge against the Indian Government, of having bargained full citizenship rights for Ceylon Indians in return for rice supplies. Now the Premier finds out a new reason and complains that Indians have not utilised for sixteen long years the opportunities given to them to become Ceylonese. Thus different reasons have been given at different times for discriminatory acts against the Indian community and one wonders what the real reason was.

Referring the statement of the Premier that the Indian estate population was increasing considerably. Mr. Thondaman quoted statistics from Government reports to show that in the estates birth-rate was less than the death-rate and that infant mortality rate was higher than in other parts of Ceylon.

The nett increase of estate population in the last ten years was only 60,000 approximately, which worked at 6,000 annually. This was not much for a total estate population of seven-and-a-half lakhs and it was, therefore, incorrect to say that the estate population was increasing alarmingly.

He appealed to the Government not to make the Indian problem an election issue and thus create a wave of anti-Indian propaganda, resulting in dissensions among the people living in rural areas.

Malaya

INDIAN EDUCATION IN MALAYA

In a memorandum on Indian education in the Federation of Malaya the newly formed non-official Indian Education Committee has emphasised its eagerness to co-operate with the authorities and all communities in this country to produce citizens with Malayan background and Malayan culture.

The Committee has recommended that in any scheme of Malayan education at least the first three years of a child's education should be mainly its mother-tongue and through the mother-tongue. Children of all races should study in the same premises from the very beginning, so that they may become and grow conscious of a common Malayan nationality.

The Committee was appointed at a meeting of Indian educational and cultural institutions in Malaya, held under the auspices of the Malayan Indian Congress. The present memorandum has been framed, says the Committee, as the Government appointed Barnes Committee on Malayan education has "strongly suggested the slow extinction of Indian and Chinese schools in Malaya on the score of political expediency in the unification of the people through the Malay language."

The Indian Education Committee says: "We believe that in the New Malaya the three cultures of India, China and Malaya will merge into one to form a Malayan culture enriched with the age-old cultures that swayed human thought for centuries. The cultures that have produced a Confucius and a Gandhi have a message for the world and their fusion in a Malayan background is sure to enrich the culture of the future resurrected and emancipated Asia."

South Africa

INDIANS IN DURBAN

For the first time in Durban's history Indians outnumber Whites in the Municipal area according to the preliminary census figures. There are 1,43,759 Indians, 1,29,663 Whites, 1,81,283 Africans and 14,092 coloured people.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

NEHRU-LIAQAT CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence that passed between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan last month, though it does not solve the problem, throws light on the attitude of the two countries in respect of outstanding issues between them.

Pandit Nehru, replying to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's telegram of August 1, reiterated the statement that "an attack on Kashmir is an attack on Indian territory, which will have to be met fully, if it takes place."

It is because of your constant threat of jihad and war to achieve your purpose in Kashmir that we were compelled to take precautionary measures and make certain troops dispositions. So long as that threat remains, no Government of India can avoid taking all necessary defensive steps.

Pandit Nehru added:

The issue is simple. We do not agree about the merits of the Kashmir question. Do we agree or not that there must be no further resort to warfare for the settlement of the dispute? We have offered to do so and you have refused to accept that position or to give the necessary assurance.

Pandit Nehru said that the new dispositions of Indian forces were not begun "till we had evidence that Pakistan was preparing for aggressive action"

and in this connection pointed out that on June 28,

we learnt that Pakistan was moving a brigade from Peshwar to Rawalkote which is 15 miles from Poonch.

This move, he said, directly threatened Poonch and could have no other purpose.

Pandit Nehru said that the attention of the U.N. observers was drawn to this move on July 3. The move was physically completed on July 7. Indian troop movements began on July 10. This, Pandit Nehru said, is further proof of the purely defensive character of our forces.

In conclusion, Pandit Nehru suggested that "peace is not offered with clenched fist nor with threatened aggression and resounding cries of jihad."

INDIAN MUSLIMS' MEMORANDUM

"We say with all the emphasis at our command that Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir is fraught with the gravest peril to the 40 million Muslims of India," states a memorandum signed by many influential Muslims throughout India and presented to Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations representative. The signatories add, "If the Security Council is really interested in peace, human brotherhood and international understanding, it should heed this warning while there is still time."

The memorandum expresses surprise that while the Security Council and its various agencies have devoted much time to study the Kashmir dispute and made various suggestions, none has ascertained the views of the Indian Muslims nor the possible effect of any hasty step in Kashmir, however well-intentioned, on the interests and well-being of Indian Muslims.

The memorandum charged Pakistan with having made the position of Muslims in India "weaker by driving out Hindus from Western Pakistan in utter disregard of the consequences of such a policy to us and our welfare."

A similar process was now in operation in Eastern Pakistan from which Hindus were coming over to India in a larger and larger number, said the memorandum and asked: "If Hindus are not welcome in Pakistan, how can we, in all fairness, expect Muslims to be welcome in India?"

"If we Muslims are living honourably in India to-day," the memorandum said, "it is certainly not due to Pakistan which if anything, has by her policy and action weakened our position. The credit goes to the broad-minded leadership of India—to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, to the tradition of tolerance in this country and to the Constitution which ensures equal rights to all citizens irrespective of their religion."

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

President Rajendra Prasad, opening the fourth session of Parliament in Delhi on Aug. 6 expressed his earnest hope that the present tension between India and Pakistan would pass away and a more favourable atmosphere be created for the consideration of their problems. He spoke at length on all topics touching home and foreign policies and said:

The most significant feature of the age we live in is the emergence of the countries of Asia. When the history of this period comes to be written, perhaps pride of place will be given to this awakening of Asia. That awakening has been and continues to be troubled. It has been varied and has taken different forms in different countries, but the outstanding fact is that great changes are coming over the continent of Asia; in many cases the old order has been entirely upset; in others some middle stage of democratic progress has been found. Our neighbour, Nepal, with whom our relations have always been of the closest friendship has taken a great step towards the establishment of a democratic form of Government. She is having some difficulties in this period of transition, but I feel sure that these will be overcome and independent and democratic Nepal will make rapid progress.

In Western Asia there has been an emergence of the same spirit and of the same urge for political and economic progress. This has sometimes led to trouble and tension and difficult problems have arisen. Many tragedies have occurred in this region in recent months; only some days ago, His Majesty the King of Jordan was the victim of assassination.

DISPUTE OVER PERSIAN OIL

In Iran behind the dispute about oil, lies a great awakening. I hope that this dispute will be settled amicably so that Iran may prosper and the world may also benefit by her great resources in oil.

My Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, recently paid goodwill visits to Turkey and Iran and carried our messages of friendship to them. I should like to express my gratitude to the Governments and peoples of these countries for the cordial welcome that they gave him. During his visit to Turkey, he signed, on behalf of India, a cultural agreement with that country

which will promote even greater understanding and co-operation between the two countries.

India has also signed treaties of peace and friendship with Iran, Indonesia and Burma. These treaties will greatly strengthen the ancient ties and long-standing friendship India has had with these countries.

I regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has rejected the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in regard to Indians in South Africa. This question does not affect India only. It is vital and affects the future of the world, because on a right solution of it depends peace or conflict between great races. Only on the basis of equality and equal treatment of different races and peoples can there be peace in this world. The Government of the Union of South Africa, however, unfortunately continues in racial policies, which can only bring unhappiness and conflict in the world.

INDO-PAKISTAN DIFFERENCES

While our relations with all our neighbour countries are cordial and co-operative, I deeply regret that there has been continuing friction between India and Pakistan and many major questions have remained unsolved. It has been and is our earnest desire to solve these questions by peaceful methods and to develop co-operative relations with Pakistan. Our past history and culture, our common interests and the intimate relations we had till misfortune overtook us, dictate that we should live in peace with each other. Yet circumstances beyond our control have affected these relations, and in Pakistan the cry of war against India is being raised. Because of possible dangers to our security, my Government was compelled to revise our defensive dispositions. But all such steps as my Government took were meant to ensure peace and to avoid war. We are determined to avoid war, unless it is thrust upon us. I earnestly trust that the present tension between India and Pakistan will pass away and a more favourable atmosphere be created for the consideration of our problems.

Eighteen months ago, a serious situation arose in Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal and Assam, when large migrations took place. An agreement between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan stopped this dangerous drift and the situation improved. I have noticed with anxiety that there has been deterioration and another exodus is taking place from Eastern Pakistan to West Bengal. This is a matter involving many millions of people who live in Eastern Pakistan and I trust that earnest and effective steps will be taken to bring about conditions to stop the exodus.

POPULAR MINISTRIES IN PART 'C' STATES

The Government of India, said a press note issued by the States Ministry, have decided to readjust the provisions of the part "C" states bill, now before Parliament, so as to secure wherever possible the largest practicable measure of autonomy and responsible government for part "C" states.

The amendments now proposed to the bill envisage that after the elections simultaneously with part "A" and part "B" states, the states of Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Coorg, Ajmer, Delhi and Bhopal should have legislative assemblies with ministries responsible to them.

"The provisions of the bill", the press note says,

can be applied to other part "C" states, except Bilaspur, which will be substantially affected by the Bhakra projects. This enabling provision gives government time to adjust the advance to responsible government according to the needs, suitability and problems of each state.

KIDVAI AND JAIN

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai pressed his resignation from the Cabinet and the President accepted it on August 2.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister, is temporarily in charge of the Ministry of Communications until a successor has been chosen by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain continues to be in the Ministry as he has told the Prime Minister that he has no immediate intention of joining any other political party although he has resigned from the Congress.

MUDGAL COMMITTEE REPORT

The Committee appointed by Parliament to investigate the conduct of Sri N. S. Mudgal, Member from Bombay have come to the conclusion that "Sri Mudgal's conduct is derogatory to the dignity of the House and inconsistent with the standards which Parliament is entitled to expect from its members."

The report of the Committee was presented to Parliament by Prof. K. T. Shah in the absence of its Chairman Sri T. T. Krishnamachari.

MR. GORWALA'S SUGGESTIONS

A large degree of real autonomy together with effective control by the Government and Parliament in certain essential aspects was one of the two solutions suggested by Mr. A. D. Gorwala for the ills of State Enterprise.

Mr. Gorwala, in his report on State Enterprise, recently submitted to the Planning Commission, has given this two-fold procedure to get over the handicaps afflicting the State Enterprise in the country. The other suggestion was retention of the flexibility and effectiveness of the best type of private enterprise within the broad frame-work of parliamentary and ministerial responsibilities.

There is no reason, then, to suppose that the special handicaps facing State enterprise cannot be surmounted, Mr. Gorwala concludes. He adds:

Some of the ills of State Enterprise in India today are those which better recruitment, better training and better methods will cure in the process of time; but there are certain other ills arising from confusion of principle, over-lapping of function and divorce of authority from responsibility, and these cannot be remedied unless a drastic re-adjustment is made of the ideas now prevailing on the subject.

In an introductory note to the Report, the Commission observes that in recent years the Government's functions in the economic field have expanded rapidly and it has been necessary for the administration to accept new and difficult responsibilities.

In the course of its work, the Commission has been impressed with the need to strengthen the machinery of economic administration at the disposal of the Government both at the Centre and in the States. The efficient administration of public enterprises is an aspect of this problem which seemed to the Commission to require special study. Accordingly, it requested Mr. A. D. Gorwala to undertake this task.

The suggestions made in the Report by Mr. Gorwala are at present under the consideration of the Government of India.

FREE STUDENTSHIPS

A scheme for Indo-German industrial co-operation was approved by the Standing Finance Committee, which met on August 10 in New Delhi, under the chairmanship of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister. Under this scheme Indian students will get training at German universities or in German heavy industries.

The Government of India have received offers for 50 free studentships at German universities and technological institutes and also for the training of a number of Indian engineers and apprentices in workshops of heavy industries in Germany. As a measure of reciprocity, the Government of India have decided to award ten free studentships to Germans for the study of Indian languages, religion and philosophy at Indian universities. The Committee approved of an expenditure of about Rs. 2,12,000 for the current year for the purpose.

A grant of Rs. 15 lakhs during the current year for award of scholarships to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes was also approved by the Committee.

INDIAN FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS IN U.S.

Forty-two students and professional men from various parts of India, including five South Indians, went to New York last month under the exchange of persons programme initiated by the State Department. These persons have been awarded Fulbright and Smith-Mundt grants to spend a year in higher educational institutions in U.S.A. They will take a six-week preliminary orientation course in certain universities before going to the educational institutions they have been allotted for higher study.

ROCKEFELLER GRANT TO GOKHALE INSTITUTE

Rockefeller Foundation grants for the second quarter of 1951 include Rs. 105,000 to the Gokhale Institute of Politics, Poona, for organising a research section on demography and allied social and economic problems and also \$84,000 to the University of Ceylon for the study of cardiovascular dynamics of tropical people.

CHANCELLOR'S RULING ON TEACHING

The Governor of Bombay, in his capacity as the Chancellor of Poona University, has given a ruling that the policy of "centralised teaching" for post-intermediate classes adopted by the University was not *ultra vires* of the University Act which defined Poona University as a post-intermediate teaching university.

While agreeing that the word used in the Act was "co-ordination" and not "centralisation", the Chancellor held the opinion that there could be various degrees of co-ordination leading to centralisation. The mode and degree of co-ordination of teaching to be adopted by the University at its different stages of development were matters essentially for the consideration and decision of the competent statutory bodies of the University, the Chancellor has observed.

This ruling has been given on a reference made to the Chancellor by a local education society. At a public meeting a few days back, dissatisfaction had been expressed that the "centralised" system made it necessary for students and staff to run about from one college to another causing lot of inconvenience to all. The students had also addressed a petition to the Chancellor in this connection.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN STATES

The Ministry of Education has decided to set up two committees to examine the question of relationship between State Governments and local bodies in regard to the administration of elementary education and to look into the experiments that are being carried on in rural education at the collegiate stage.

The chairmen of the two committees will respectively be Mr. B. G. Kher, Chief Minister and Minister of Education, Bombay, and Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University.

The committees have been set up in implementation of the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education made at its last meeting held in Trivandrum in January.

HINDU LAW REFORM

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, one of the members of the reconstituted Hindu Law Reform Committee, and who signed the majority report, writes:

Before I joined the Committee, I commended the unification of the Hindu Law, remarking that a uniform Civil Code applicable to the whole of India was at that stage impracticable. Since Independence, circumstances have changed and even the Minister for Law in the Central Government said that the reform of the Hindu Law was only a first step to a uniform law for all India. It is in this view that the following suggestions are made.

Let the Hindu Law of Inheritance be taken up and passed. Its main object is to improve the rights of women both as regards their rights of inheritance and their rights of disposition. Let the law of Marriage and Divorce be postponed until a law is framed for all Indians alike and passed. It will not do to impose monogamy on one group, while allowing a plurality of wives to another group. Nor is it right to allow one group to get rid of marriage by saying 'talak' while another is to go to court and satisfy it as to the existence of specified causes of divorce. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar agreed to divorce, but thought that the rule of monogamy very largely prevailed without prescription by law. We in the Committee took the view that as monogamy is so largely practised it is no hardship to people that it should be declared a binding rule. I myself consider monogamy should make for happiness and many-wived persons themselves will admit that two wives make for unhappiness. I am bound to add however that monogamy is being discussed even in the West. One unconventional writer says that half a husband to a woman is better than a whole husband to some and no husband to others. There apparently the problem is to find husbands for all women. Monogamy must be the rule for all or none. Even without a rule of monogamy, nay, with permission for many wives, neither the Hindu nor the Muslim marries many wives. A monogamy rule imposes no hardship on either community very largely. Divorce by talak is rare, I think; but the rule must be uniform. Marriage and Divorce are eminently subjects for a uniform law, though inheritance may be allowed to be various.

The second suggestion is about the system of Dattaka adoption. Adoption sets up a fiction of sonship as if it were a fact. The adopted son not only becomes the son of the adopter but also a relation of all his relations. He is to perform the exequial ceremonies to remote relations if none is nearer and offer pindas and libations of water to them. With a view to secure this ceremonial competence, there were restrictions on the choice of the person to be adopted. We are now getting rid of those restrictions. In their absence, ceremonial competence ceases and with the right of collateral inheritance must cease. Hereafter, no dattaka

adoption should be allowed and if the community should prefer its continuance it must be on the existing conditions. I personally prefer to scrap that form of adoption altogether. The adopting mother nearly always repented of the adoption which deprived her of all her husband's property. Since 1937, she gets a half. If she becomes absolute owner of that half now, the adopted son has every inducement to be loyal to her, so that he may get the other half also on her death.

Adoption should operate between the adopter and the adopted person only, and must not be forced on other relations. Such adoptions were known to the Hindu Law and prevails even now in Bihar. The adopted son retains his position in his own family. The adopter retains his property subject to any contract between them which should be enforceable on the principle laid down in *Maddison vs. Alderson* 8 A.C.

This viewpoint is of course new and arose in my mind as the result of further discussions with those who were not examined as witnesses in Madras but who presented the impropriety of forcing a fiction on other relations without considering the old ratio for converting the fiction into a fact.

It needs not to be said that it is for Parliament to accept or reject these suggestions.

BILL TO REPLACE ORDINANCE

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister introduced in Parliament a Bill seeking to replace the ordinance promulgated recently to check trafficking in managing agency rights and cornering of shares in the open market with a view to acquiring control over the management of well-established and reputable companies for anti-social purposes.

The ordinance provided for (1) the prior approval of the Central Government to be obtained to any change in the controlling interests of an existing company and or in the terms of appointment to new managing agents so as to prevent the imposition of any onerous terms on it either by the present or the incoming management, (2) such remedial action as the court may deem fit to order in any cases of gross mismanagement of company's affairs by directors or managing agents or in cases of oppression of some members of the company and (3) the setting up of a Commission to advise the Government on all applications for approval to changes in controlling interests and terms of the managing agency.

BANK DEPOSITS IN INDIA

The demand and time liabilities of scheduled banks rose by Rs. 28 crores in 1950 in sharp contrast to a contraction of Rs. 152 crores in the preceding year and a half, according to a survey of banking developments in 1950 embodied in a publication of the Reserve Bank of India.

The survey makes the following points:

(1) The demand for bank credit increased as a result of the rise in prices and the speculative holding of commodities in consequence of the Korean war. The loans and advances of scheduled banks increased markedly in 1950 as against a nominal rise of Rs. 1 crore in 1949.

(2) There has been a down trend in the total number of banking offices. This has been attributed in part to the bank award which has increased establishment costs.

(3) The net profits of banks have also diminished. This again has been put down to the bank award.

(4) There has been a rise in the current earnings and current expenses of Indian scheduled banks, of exchange banks and non-scheduled banks with capital and reserves of Rs. 5 lakhs and above each.

(5) The deposits of joint stock banks and larger co-operative banks rose by Rs. 26 crores to Rs. 1,937 crores and their advances by Rs. 17 crores to Rs. 569 crores.

Loans and advances of scheduled banks including bills purchased and discounted, rose by Rs. 20.11 crores from Rs. 441.54 crores in December, 1949, to Rs. 461.65 crores in December, 1950.

SETTING UP TARIFF COMMISSION

The main recommendation of the Select Committee's report on the Bill providing for a Tariff Commission is that except when necessary, officers of the Government in the administrative services should not be appointed as members of the Commission. If any such appointments have to be made, they should be confined to the minimum, says the report.

The report, presented last month to Parliament by Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab, also recommends that the maximum number of members of the Commission should be increased from four to five.

Members of Parliament or of a State Legislature should not be debarred from becoming members of the Commission.

The law, however, should provide for the vacation of seat by a member in the Legislature on his being so appointed.

Under a new sub-clause the Committee has provided for reference to the Tariff Commission of protected industries where the protection given requires to be further considered with a view to its modification or abolition.

Express provision has been made in the Bill to ensure that due regard is given by the Commission to cottage and other small-scale industries engaged in the same or allied field before granting protection to an industry.

In the opinion of the Committee, a time-limit should be fixed within which Government should ordinarily be required to take action on every report of the Commission.

Minutes of dissent by Prof. K.T. Shah, Mr. A. C. Guha and Mr. Gokulbhai Bhatt have been appended to the report.

INDIA'S IMPORT OF MACHINERY

India's imports of machinery, including belting for machinery, totalled Rs. 81.39 crores during 1950-51, of which prime movers, such as railway engines, formed the major item of import.

Machinery was the second biggest item of import in India's foreign trade, surpassed only by her imports of raw cotton and waste which totalled over Rs. 100 crores.

By far the largest portion of machinery came from the United Kingdom. Of the import of machinery (excluding belting for machinery and printing machinery) totalling Rs. 82 crores United Kingdom supplied nearly Rs. 52 crores worth. The United States supplied India with Rs. 14 crores worth of machinery and Czechoslovakia, the third largest supplier, exported Rs. 1.46 crores worth during the year. Imports of machinery from other countries totalled Rs. 14 crores during the year.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S LOAN

The Government of India's three per cent. loan for Rs. 50 crores was fully subscribed within two and a quarter hours after it was opened on August 20.

THE LATE MRS. LAKSHMIPATHI

We regret to record the death on August 6 of Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, who was Minister of Public Health in Madras in the Prakasam Ministry, at her residence in Madras. She was 60.

Mrs. Lakshmipathi, who was born in 1891 at Madras, was the grand-daughter of Raja T. Rama Rao. She was one of the earliest women graduates, having taken her degree in 1918. She was a member of the Senates of the Madras and Annamalai Universities for some years. The women's cause constantly occupied her mind and she was Secretary of the Bharati Stri Mahamandal in Madras. She attended the 10th International Women's Suffrage Alliance Congress at Paris in June 1926, as a delegate from India. She was an accomplished musician as well. She served on local bodies like the Corporation of Madras and the Chingleput District Board.

Mrs. Lakshmipathi was an ardent Congress woman and she served the Congress for more than two decades. She joined it in 1928. She was the first woman to be arrested during the Salt Satyagraha movement in 1930 at Vedaranyam and was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. She went to prison again during the 1932 civil disobedience movement and later during the individual Satyagraha movement.

Mrs. Lakshmipathi was Vice-President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee for some time. She was chosen a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress when Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was its President in 1937.

Mrs. Lakshmipathi was elected a member of the Madras Legislative Council on the Congress ticket in 1935 from the general constituency in Madras City. She was the Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly during the first Congress Ministry. At that time, she visited Japan as a member of a goodwill mission. After the war, when the Congress again took up office, she was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly and was chosen a Minister, the first woman Minister in Madras, in the Ministry formed by Mr. Prakasam.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR WOMEN

The British Federation of University Women has announced a scholarship valued at £300, which enables the recipient to carry on post-graduate research or other advanced study in the sciences or arts, at Crosby Hall in London during the academic year, 1952-53. The scholarship is open to members of any of the National Associations affiliated to the International Federation of University Women, and the prospective candidates should offer a scheme of work that might be profitably carried on in London. Applications for the scholarship from India must be made through the Federation of University Women in India. They should reach the Secretary of the British Federation of University Women, Limited, 17-A, King's Road, London, S. W. 3, not later than December 1, 1951.

The American Association of University Women, has also announced a scheme whereby a limited number of international grants is offered for study in the U. S. A. Preference will be given to candidates who wish to do graduate work or advanced research, or who wish to conduct special investigations in their professional fields. Applications are to be made on special forms provided by the American Association of University women, and should be sent through the Federation of University Women in India. They should reach the Secretary of the Committee, Miss Mary H. Smith, 1634, Eye Street, North-west, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., not later than January 1, 1952.

WOMEN'S RIGHT OF FRANCHISE

Shrimati Vidyadevi, President of the All-India Mahila Sangh in a statement on August 6 requested the Election Commissioner to restore the names of the 28 lakh women voters who had been deprived of their right of franchise as they failed to give their own names.

"According to sacred Indian tradition and culture it is customary for Indian women to make themselves known in the names of their husbands, fathers or sons. Their identities are not recognised from their own names only", she said.

"To exclude ten per cent of women from exercising their right of voting for such a trifling lapse amounts to a grave injustice to the women", she added.

SPEAKERS' CONFERENCE

In an address, read to the Conference of Presiding Officers of Legislatures in India, Mr. Mavlankar said:

Our Governments today are suffering from a lack of good, steady, sympathetic, and constructive Opposition. In the present setup, the duty of a presiding officer should not be merely to hear debates and count votes. It should be equally his duty, as a detached observer, to invite the attention of the Executive Government to the pitfalls or mistakes on the part of the Executive in all matters that come before the Legislature.

The 3-day Conference met at Trivandrum. Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of Parliament, presided. Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, who was to have presided could not be present at the conference because of his mother's illness.

Mr. Mavlankar, in his address, said:

We have been able, during the last 5 years, to achieve independence of the Legislature from the control or interference by the Executive.

THE LATE PROF. S. K. RUDRA

It is with deep regret that we record the death, under tragic circumstances, of Prof. S. K. Rudra of the Allahabad University on June 21. He was drowned on account of heart failure while swimming in Lake Sat Tal, near Naini Tal.

Prof. Sudhir K. Rudra was the son of Susil Kumar Rudra, the famous Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and brother of Major-General A. A. Rudra of the Indian Army. Principal S. K. Rudra was an intimate friend of C. F. Andrews who looked upon Sudhir as his own son all his life. Sudhir kept him company during the holiday months when they all lived together at Sanawar on the lower Himalayas.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

Dr. John Matthai, former Finance Minister, Government of India, was elected President of the Court of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. The Court consists of 38 members, including the members of the Governing Council, heads of departments of the Institute and representatives of the States of Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad.

W. R. HEARST

— Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who headed the chain of Hearst newspapers, died on August 14 at his home in Beverly Hills, California.

Mr. Hearst, who was 88, was a former representative in the U. S. Congress. He was editor and proprietor of the Hearst Press, a chain of newspapers and magazines including the New York American and Journal, the Boston American, and Advertiser, the Chicago Herald and American, the San Francisco Examiner, the Los Angeles Examiner, the Pittsburg Sun, the Detroit Times, Good Housekeeping and Harper's Bazar. He also owned some English journals like Good Housekeeping and Pall Mall Magazine.

BIOGRAPHY OF GANDHIJI

The first volume of an eight-volume life of Mahatma Gandhi is to be published on August 15 next, Independence Day.

The author of the biography of the 'Father of the Nation,' is S. D. G. Tendulkar, who had the co-operation of the Mahatma in compiling part of the work, which has taken five years to complete. Many of the speeches and writings of the Mahatma contained in the book were revised by Gandhiji himself. The first volume contains letters from Gandhiji to the author testifying his close co-operation.

KASHMIR MAHARAJA'S PRIVY PURSE

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has been sanctioned a privy purse of Rs. 15 lakhs a year. Out of this, a sum of Rs. 6 lakhs is being paid by the Jammu and Kashmir Government while the balance of Rs. 9 lakhs is, for the present, being paid by the Government of India under the head "Aid to Kashmir" which is treated as a loan to the State.

This information was given by the States Minister, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, during question-time in Parliament.

No separate privy purse had been fixed for the Yuvaraj. A suitable allotment was made for him by His Highness from his privy purse of Rs. 15 lakhs, he added.

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